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ABSTRACT

This report summarizes literature that is pertinent to multicultural education, primarily in Canada, and to a lesser extent in the United States, Great Britain, and Australia. The purpose of the report is to: (1) clarify terms related to multiculturalism; (2) identify the ideological premises of multiculturalism and their implications for education; (3) review policies on multiculturalism; (4) summarize educational responses to multiculturalism; (5) review the major issues and concerns in multicultural education; and (6) provide a list of sources for further reference. Chapter 1, "Introduction," provides the following information: (1) parameters of the study; (2) sources of information; (3) context; and (4) definitions of multiculturalism, multicultural education, and ethnicity. It contains a glossary of key terms and a list of 13 sources. Chapter 2, "Foundations of Multicultural Education," provides the following information: (1) legislative foundations; (2) ideological premises including cultural pluralism, individualism, social justice, and cultural universals; and (3) educational approaches. It contains a list of 21 sources. Chapter 3, "Policies, Programs and Practices," provides information on the following topics: (1) federal policies and programs; (2) provincial programs and practices in various locations in Canada; and (3) policies in other nations including the United States, Australia, and Great Britain. It contains a list of 32 sources. Chapter 4, "Issues," covers the following topics: (1) cultural pluralism; (2) human rights; (3) language instruction; (4) native education; (5) pedagogical concerns; and (6) disciplinary concerns. It contains a list of 94 sources. Chapter 5, "Conclusion," contains a summary of theory, policy, programs, and issues concerning multicultural education, and a list of 60 additional sources. (JS)

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MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION
THEORY, POLICY, PRACTICE
& ISSUES: A Literature Review

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MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION THEORY, POLICY, PRACTICE, AND ISSUES: A LITERATURE REVIEW

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by
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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 PARAMETERS OF THE STUDY

This report summarizes literature which is pertinent to multicultural education, primarily in Canada, and to a lesser extent in the U.S., Britain and Australia. The purpose of the report is to:

- clarify terms related to multiculturalism
- identify the ideological premises of multiculturalism and their implications for education
- review policies on multiculturalism
- summarize educational responses to multiculturalism
- review the major issues and concerns in multicultural education
- provide a list of sources for further reference

The report consists of five sections. Section 1 introduces the study and provides a definition of multiculturalism, multicultural education, and ethnicity. A glossary of other terms is also provided.

Section 2 reviews the foundations of multicultural education. The first part makes reference to Canada's federal policy on multiculturalism as announced in 1971. The second part identifies the ideological premises inherent in multiculturalism, i.e., pluralism, individualism, social justice, and cultural universals, and their implications for multicultural education. The third part reviews the major approaches to multicultural education.

Section 3 examines the policies, programs and practices of multicultural education. A brief overview of multicultural education since 1960 is provided. Canadian federal programs and practices are reviewed, as are those in Canada's provinces. In addition those in the U.S., Australia and Britain are briefly reviewed.

Section 4 examines issues which include cultural pluralism, human rights, language instruction, Native education, pedagogical challenges, and discipline-related concerns.

Section 5 provides a summary or synthesis of the literature review.

1.2 SOURCES

The published sources reviewed include books, journals and reports on multiculturalism and multicultural education. The sources are of Canadian, American, British and Australian origin and were obtained through libraries at the University of Regina and the University of Calgary. The authors cited in this report are often referred to in multicultural literature and in most instances, have published since 1980.

Information on policies, practices and programs was requested from the Canadian federal and provincial governments, and this information has been reviewed and analyzed.

1.3 CONTEXT

The literature reviewed revealed considerable diversity in the field of multiculturalism. For example, multiculturalism draws from a number of established disciplines including psychology, sociology, anthropology, geography, political science and history. Topics include immigration policy, self-concept, human rights, language, culture, ethnic pluralism, case studies of ethnocultural communities, prejudice, protest, politics and intergroup relations. This report attempts to integrate findings from these disciplines and topics into the analysis of multicultural education, wherever pertinent.

The literature also revealed gaps and unevenness. Theoretically, the ideological premises of multiculturalism remain largely implicit as a broad base of multicultural education has not been fully developed. At the level of implementation, the literature is most prolific in terms of activities. There is a perceived gap between theory and implementation whilst only a few writers are recommending this as an area needing attention and development. In terms of evaluation there is little literature. While this report relates to theory, implementation and evaluation, several cautionary points should be noted. The field of multicultural education is developing and needs to be more fully understood and integrated. Also it should be approached with care and discernment.

1.4 DEFINITIONS

The following definitions have been developed after examining several sources.

1.4.1 Multiculturalism

Most current Canadian definitions of multiculturalism fall into the three interrelated categories outlined below.

. Multiculturalism refers to the experience, existence or recognition of the ethnic, cultural, racial, linguistic and religious diversity which exists within Canada.

> While it is commonly suggested that the origin of Canada's population can be roughly divided into thirds - one third is of British extraction, one third of French extraction, and one third of other origins, - the 1971 census reported that there were over 100 different ethnic groups in Canada. In Saskatchewan alone, the 1981 census reported that there were twenty-two ethnic groups with more than 2,000 members each.

. Multiculturalism is a policy adopted by federal and provincial governments in response to the reality of this diversity.

> In response to the findings of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework was proclaimed on October 8, 1971, by the Prime Minister of Canada. The policy stated that every ethnic group has the right to preserve and develop its own culture and values within the Canadian context. Since 1971, provincial governments have implemented or developed further policies which focus on areas of provincial concern.

. Multiculturalism expresses a social goal and furthers the desired outcomes of the policy. Multiculturalism fosters a society and a Canadian identity in which people and groups of all cultures are accepted. It promotes human and group relations in which ethnic, racial, religious, cultural, and linguistic similarites, differences and heritages are valued and respected.

> The principles or tenets inherent in multiculturalism have been outlined as follows, by the Canadian Council for Multicultural and Intercultural Education, May 24, 1984:

equality of status of all cultural and ethnic groups within the framework of our official bilingual country;

the freedom of all individuals and groups to employment and promotion, services and support;

the freedom of all individuals and groups to the retention and development of their cultures as a part of the Canadian identity;

a commitment to sharing our cultures within the mainstream of Canadian society;

an undertaking to participate in Canadian citizenship and the democratic process in terms of both rights and responsibilities;

a belief that individuals have the freedom to choose the particular cultural attributes they prefer within the framework of democratic principles; and

respect for and observance of human rights and civil liberties as exemplified in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the common law, and human rights code.

1.4.2 Multicultural Education

The definition of multicultural education follows from the tripartite definition of multiculturalism.

. Multicultural education is a practical response of the educational system to prepare students for living in the multicultural reality of Canada and the world.

. Multicultural education is a commitment by the educational system to support the goals of the formal policy, which serves as a reference point for all of society's institutions.

. Multicultural education as an interdisciplinary process, attempts to:

  reflect the historical and sociological realities of ethnicity in all curricula;

  respect and support the cultural heritages of all students;

make students sensitive to and aware of the meaning of cultural diversity in Canadian life;

recognize the effect of culture on learning styles;

create a climate in school that operationalizes the philosophy of human rights;

develop within education personnel a sensitivity to the concerns of ethnic communities; and

encourage students to view their ethnocultural backgrounds as well as those of others, as an asset rather than as a liability both in personal and in sociological terms.

1.4.3 Ethnicity

This is a term implying a collectivity of people within a larger society. This collectivity can be defined denotatively or connotatively, by a combination of variables which include: race, religion, culture, national origin, institutional structures, traditions, ecological territory, historical symbols and knowledge, and ideology.

Ethnic origin is defined by Census Canada as the ethnic or cultural group to which a person's ancestors belonged on first immigrating to Canada or as indigenous to Canada. Ethnic identity is a sense of belonging to, identifying with, or being a member of an ethnocultural group. The emotion or commitment is not dependent on how many or how few variables are evident or customs are practiced. Canada's population is ethnically diverse and is composed of Anglophones, Francophones, Native peoples and other ethnocultural groups. Ethnicity is not relevant to minority or majority status. In some situations specific groups may form either the majority or the minority group. This feature is not simply a matter of census statistics since a group may be a minority in terms of numbers but dominant in terms of power and influence.

1.5 GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS

The following definitions result from a synthesis of various sources:

assimilation

- the process of absorbing or adopting the language, customs, attitudes, values and general lifestyle of another culture, while losing or eliminating those of one's own culture; occurs in varying degrees for individuals and groups and may be deliberate, subtle, unintentional or gradual.

bias

- a preference for or against, which prevents the observer from seeing reality; can lead to false conclusions or prejudice.

biculturalism

- maintaining a loyalty to one's heritage culture and at the same time adjusting to the dominant culture on one's own terms; can contribute to a personally satisfying combination of values and expression.

culture

- the way of life of a people including food, language, clothing, housing, arts, crafts, music, dance, politics, economy, technology, values, beliefs, attitudes, habits; elements particular to a group and common to its members.

cultural marginality

- the result of participating in two different cultures but never feeling truly at home in either; can lead to personal disassociation, maladjustment and abnormality.

cultural universals

- structural or functional aspects of a cultural configuration which can be identified in every or any cultural pattern; similarities of classification and not content.

discrimination

- an action or treatment, usually negative, of an object, person or group of people, on the basis of preconceived attitudes and beliefs; often results from bias, ethnocentrism, prejudice.

ethnocentrism

- the stance of viewing and judging other cultures and societies from the perspective of one's own culture or society, rather than from within their configuration; can result in a belief that one's own culture is superior to all others.

integration

- a harmonizing and unifying process of diverse and sometimes conflicting elements; allows members of an ethnocultural group to retain certain elements of their cultural orientation and still participate fully in the political, economic, social, and cultural life of the larger society.

minority status

- expresses a numerical relationship between two groups, in which the group with minority status is not predominant in a given area; may be accompanied by inequity, discrimination or other forms of ill treatment.

prejudice

- an attitude or opinion formed without sufficient or valid evidence to support it; usually refers to negative attitudes against individuals or groups, and may lead to acts of discrimination or racism.

race

- a categorization of human beings into divisions on the basis of physical features such as skin colour, facial features, bone structure, shape of eyes, hair, etc.; often controversial as many scientists view race as an artificial construct.

racism

- the act of discriminating against an ethnocultural group or individual, or considering them inferior on the basis of physical characteristics; may result in inequity or intergroup tension.

stereotype

- a perception of a group which is oversimplified and often inaccurate because it ignores individual differences and/or intragroup diversity; expressed as generalizations about the characteristics of a group or individual on the assumption that all members of a given group possess a given identity and given character.

values

. abstract ideals of what is good, worthwhile, and desirable; constitute the fundamental building blocks of a society from which individuals develop personal codes of belief and behaviour.

1.6 SOURCES - SECTION 1

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2. FOUNDATIONS OF MULTICULTURALISM

2.1 LEGISLATIVE FOUNDATIONS

The federal policy on multiculturalism was a direct response to Canada's cultural pluralism, and grass-roots concern for cultural survival. While the policy of multiculturalism was not announced until 1971, it was a long time in coming, according to Jean Burnet, a research associate of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, and a contributor to Book IV of the Report. (1979, 43)

According to McLeod (1984, 30), the Canadian population was heterogeneous even before European contact, since the Native peoples were tribally and linguistically diverse. When European immigration increased Canada's social complexity, assimilation was emphasized as a means to build the new nation of Canada. English Canadians viewed themselves as the host society. While other ethnic groups were encouraged to assimilate as quickly and totally as possible, many established their own organizations and institutions, including various types of schools.

After World War II, the emphasis on assimilation lessened somewhat and Canada's cultural pluralism was given more positive recognition. This was in part prompted by factors such as the decline of the British Empire, the growing ethnic components of Canada's cities, and increasing French Canadian nationalism. Other factors, according to Dean Wood (1983, 95, 96), included the collapse of myths about racial superiority, a growing concern about human rights, immigration of people with more skills and higher education, changes in the immigration policy which had increased the proportion of Third World immigrants, and the growing assertiveness of various ethnic groups. It was within this context, that the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, which was originally mobilized by French Canadian nationalism, became focussed on the concerns of other ethnic groups. Established in 1963 to study the existing state of the "two founding races," much to the Commission's surprise, the hearings were inundated with briefs from other ethnocultural groups who identified with the struggle for cultural survival.

Book IV of the Report, published in 1970, constituted an analysis of the role of ethnic groups in Canada, and its position on ethnic and cultural diversity is summarized by the following quotation:

> The presence in Canada of many people whose language and culture are distinctive by reason of their birth or ancestry represents an inestimable enrichment that Canadians cannot afford to lose. The dominant cultures can only profit from the influence of these cultures...the presence of the other cultural groups in Canada is something for which all Canadians should be thankful. Their members must always enjoy the right - a basic human one - to safeguard their languages and culture. (1970, 235)

When the federal policy on multiculturalism was announced in the House of Commons on October 8, 1971, the Prime Minister stated that

> although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other .... A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the government as the suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians.

He also stated that

> Canadian identity will not be undermined by multiculturalism. Indeed, we believe that cultural pluralism is the very essence of Canadian identity. Every ethnic group has the right to preserve and develop its own culture and values within the Canadian context.

He added that "a policy of multiculturalism must be a policy for all Canadians."

The policy contained four objectives:

1. The Government of Canada will support all of Canada's cultures and will seek to assist, resources permitting, the development of those cultural groups which have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop, a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, as well as a clear need for assistance.

2. The Government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society.

3. The government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity.

4. The Government will continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society.

Just as the multicultural policy was not created in a vacuum, so too its reception was characterized by a diversity of perspectives. The response of ethnocultural groups varied according to how these groups perceived themselves in relation to other groups in Canadian society, their perceived needs, and how these needs could best be met. In all cases, the response of these groups to the policy had direct implications for education.

Canada's report for the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) provides a very helpful discussion of this topic, and a brief summary follows. (1985, 5-12). The report divides Canada's ethnocultural groups into four categories: Ethnocultural communities; Native Peoples, Francophones and Anglophones.

The Report states that immigrant ethnocultural communities probably were uppermost in the policy-makers minds, and that these groups have embraced the policy most fully. They perceive their needs as: cultural retention and development; participation in Canadian society; intercultural communication; and acquisition of at least one of the official languages. These needs are largely met through the educational system with a variety of special programs.

In terms of the Native peoples, the multicultural policy poses a problem or a threat. The Report states that the Natives feel they would lose their special status and Aboriginal rights as Canada's First Peoples, if the government applied its policy too closely to them. This issue is further complicated by the cultural diversity of the Native peoples themselves, Native land claims under negotiation, the desire for self-government, and urbanization. For Native groups seeking autonomy their greatest need in education is for self-determination in the control of their educational system, for the training of Native teachers, and for the teaching of Native languages. For Natives in urban centres, the educational needs include culturally relevant learning materials, trained Native teachers with knowledge of urban life, sensitivity on the part of non-Native teachers and other students alike, and the alleviation of racism and prejudice. These needs are addressed through special provisions or adaptation in program and curricula.

Many Francophones, according to the OECD Report, see multiculturalism as "an invention of an English dominated federal government intended to render them "just another ethno-cultural group." A complicating factor is that while Francophones are the majority in Quebec, they are a minority in the other provinces. More than the other groups, Francophones tie language and culture together to the extent that they cannot accept the logic of two official languages but no official culture. Hence in Quebec, the policy is disavowed. However, when Francophones are dispersed and in the minority, they are less likely to reject multiculturalism. In the final analysis, the need of Francophones inside and outside Quebec are the same, i.e., education in their own language.

The OECD Report classifies as Anglophones, all English speakers, whether they be original settlers or recent immigrants from English or non-English speaking countries. It states that most Anglophones do not see the policy as relevant to them. It argues, however, that two aspects of the policy, cultural development and inter-cultural communication have struck a responsive chord in the search for a national identity. Multiculturalism then, provides an all-inclusive Canadian identity, avoids the definition of Canadian society in terms of minority or majority, avoids the assimilationist bent of the American melting pot, and largely avoids the issue of race. The Report goes on to suggest that the policy's emphasis on intercultural communication has found expression in school curricula in the form of more multicultural content. However, programs relating to language instruction, race relations, prejudice and discrimination are still controversial. The clause with most impact on Anglophones relates to the official languages, and has found expression in French immersion programs and French language instruction.

2.2 IDEOLOGICAL PREMISES

While the subject of multiculturalism has received considerable attention over the last decade, the literature on the ideological premises is limited, fragmented, often implicit. The premises are also difficult to pin down because there is a diversity of literature within the field which borrows from a variety of established disciplines and includes topics such as immigration policy, ethnic pluralism, cultural diversity, case studies of ethnocultural communities, language and culture, prejudice, protest and politics and intergroup relations.

However, the literature does include several broad underlying assumptions which are often unstated, or not clearly outlined, namely, cultural pluralism, individualism, social justice and cultural universals.

2.2.1 Cultural Pluralism

The premise that Canada is characterized by cultural pluralism has evolved from historical experience, the inescapable reality of Canada's ethnocultural diversity and the search for national identity and unity. McLeod (1984, 31) contends that cultural diversity does not impair Canadian unity or identity since pluralism constitutes the very essence of Canada's identity. Further, multiculturalism seeks to create the type of unity which comes through understanding and tolerance.

Mallea (1984, 78-98) takes a more analytic approach to pluralism. Based on Schermerhorn's typology, Mallea elaborates four kinds of pluralism in Canada, which transcend the usual concept which focusses on specific cultural groups. The first type is cultural pluralism which is evident in ethnic diversity. The second is normative or ideological pluralism, which is reflected in our present federal system. The third is structural pluralism which is evidenced by the institutional differences between groups. The fourth is political pluralism which refers to the activities of ethnocultural minority groups to influence the making and implementation of political decisions at all levels of government. Mallea suggests that such a macro approach in teaching about ethnocultural differences expands the focus from specific cultural differences to commonality and interdependence.

The assumption that pluralism is and will continue to be a fact in Canadian life, provides a justification for multicultural education, according to the OECD Report. It states:

> The school is an important mediator between the private and public sphere... The school's commitment to multiculturalism, such as it is, is to use the private life and culture of a child as a secure basis from which he/ she can step out into the public. (1985, 28)

2.2.2 Individualism

This premise that the individual should have the freedom to pursue self-fulfilment, draws its strength from fields such as sociology and psychology and also the philosophy of liberalism, to name a few. This assumption is eloquently stated in the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

> Man is a thinking and sensitive human being; severing him from his roots could destroy an aspect of his personality and deprive society of some of the values he can bring to it. (1970, 5)

Multiculturalists like Friesen (1986, 28) also find support in the work of psychologist Abraham Maslow, and his elaboration of a series of human needs. The higher order needs of belonging, love, self-esteem and self-actualization are directly related to the goals of multiculturalism.

The relationship between personal and ethnic identity is elaborated by Wood, who views ethnic identification as positive for the following reasons:

> pride in one's ethnicity is the only positive way to respond to being a visible minority in a predominantly Euro-Canadian society; the socialization immigrants receive in the homeland implants their culture at the very heart of their being; second-and-third generation Canadians learn some elements of ethnic culture in the home; identification with our ethnic group is one way of establishing our identity; ethnic communities can provide meaningful social worlds; personal growth results from a knowledge of more than one language;

> and the goals of an ethnic group unify people of a similar background. (1983, 95)

The individual's freedom to choose a lifestyle and cultural traits, is referred to by McLeod. He suggests that this freedom can act as a deterrent to discrimination, stereotyping and ethnocentricity because it gives the individual a sense of ownership and security of identity. This in turn allows the individual to transcend cultural barriers and to appreciate other groups' perspectives, traits and behaviour without feeling threatened. (1984, 30-32)

The OECD Report suggests that multiculturalism becomes a way of combatting the anomie faced by the individual. The report states that

> modern industrial culture in the twentieth century is not a group activity or the foundation of a way of life but instead a lifestyle.... Culture has become individualized and trivialized because the functions it used to perform have been taken over by large impersonal institutions of modern society. Multiculturalism thus becomes a way of combatting ...the interpersonal faceless world. (1985, 28)

The assumption that providing for the well-being of the individual benefits the individual and society, has a direct bearing on multicultural education. The OECD Report states:

> multiculturalism as a teaching philosophy is fully consistent with recent trends toward the teacher's giving attention to the individual needs of each child, suiting the pace and content to the child's requirements, and being more aware of the social and psychological background of the child. (1985, 28)

2.2.3 Social Justice

The third premise that all people are of equal worth, is most commonly associated with human and civil rights movements. While many writers refer to social justice, few elaborate on the topic. Wood states that the most neglected element of multiculturalism is the commitment to social justice. He defines social justice as

> a clear statement that all peoples are of equal worth; it rejects inequalities resulting from racial, religious, and cultural distinction. From this philosophical and policy position, Canada is then obligated to tackle all forms of racism. Most significantly multiculturalism obligates us to make our institutions more just in their responses to our diversity. (1986, 12)

This assumption has a bearing not only on multicultural education, but on education generally. Wood argues that the school's responsibility for social justice lies in two areas: equality of experience and equality of opportunity. He suggests that equality of experience can be facilitated by: eliminating bias in language and materials; establishing and enforcing anti-racist policy; recognizing diversity in tangible ways such as pictures displayed, books purchased and so on; promoting English as a Second Language (ESL); and sensitively accepting newcomers. The second area, equality of opportunity, can be enhanced by reducing discrimination in testing; reducing the over-representation of minorities in vocational programs; re-evaluating our Anglo-American values about schooling; providing appropriate role models by recruiting teachers from minority backgrounds; and recognizing special needs. (1986, 17-21)

Writers such as Connors (1984) and Aoki (1977, 1978), state that information and knowledge alone, are not enough to promote social justice. Connors claims that the "classroom as an action system engages the process of socialization and offers self-understanding and a direction for change." (1984, 110). He proposes that curriculum be developed locally and that a critical reflective framework be built into the curriculum. Connors claims that such an approach, "while seeking to make an individual's historical process conscious also contains an action-seeking transformation not only at the individual but also at a societal level." (1984, 109)

2.2.4 Cultural Universals

The fourth assumption is based on the idea that all cultures have common structures and functions even though there are differences in content and behaviour. According to Friesen (1986, 28), this premise performs a balancing function, in that it helps correct an over-emphasis on individual and group differences by focussing on commonalities. He states that this premise has been borrowed from the disciplines of history, anthropology, sociology, philosophy and psychology. For example, anthropologists like Wissler include language, ancestry, artifacts, social organization, government and belief systems, welfare for the aged, sick, or needy, arts and music, forms of property ownership or usage, and education of the young. The sociological perspective is similar. According to Loomis, cultural universals include knowledge and belief, sentiment, goals, norms, status-role, rank, power, sanctions and facilities. Psychologist Abraham Maslow has defined cultural universals in terms of the needs of all individuals. Pierre Van Den Berghe claims there are three premises from the social sciences which support the concept of cultural universals. First, all humans are members of a single species, and there are no biologically meaningful subspecies. Moreover, the concept of race is a social construct which does not correspond to biological reality. Second, differences between individuals within an ethnocultural group are often greater than those between groups, and any such differences that exist, are mainly the product of social environment. Third, attitudes of racism and ethnocentrism are irrational and dysfunctional to the individual and to society.

These views are supported by Kehoe (Roe, 1982, 38) who suggests that teachers should: (1) emphasize the positive achievements of minority groups rather than their hardships or persecution experiences; (2) emphasize similarities rather than exotic or bizarre differences; (3) present information from an insider's point of view using the "we" rather than the "they" kind of pronoun; (4) avoid emphasizing the material poverty of a region because doing so would risk raising undue sympathy; (5) allow students to examine the effect ethnocentrism and stereotyping can have on its victims; (6) emphasize family life and everyday activities.

2.3 EDUCATIONAL APPROACHES

The necessity of multicultural education can be discerned from the previous sections of this report and the assumptions surrounding pluralism, individualism, cultural universals and social justice. More challenging, however, is the exercise of clearly delineating the "what" and the "how."

A most helpful framework is provided by Magsino (19 who outlines six approaches to multicultural educat drawn from other writers in the field. He notes th the elements in each approach are not mutually excl sive and that the full implementation of each appro is not commonly found in educational systems. A su mary of these approaches and their criticisms follo

2.3.1 Education for an Emergent Society

The purpose of this approach is assimilationist, to eliminate cultural diversity by encouraging a unified, amalgamated society. The basic assumptio are that: the ideal society develops from a fusio of many cultures into a new, single nationality; culture is superior to any other; and, social har is best promoted by critical evaluation of cultura elements. The target audience is all students. Curricular or pedagogical considerations include: curricula which focus on a wider range of cultural diversity and an issues orientation to socia problems; teaching that stresses a co-operative search for common, preferred values; and the development of attitudes that stress socialization and preferred values.

While Wood (1986, 20) does not support this appro he does suggest that it is consistent with the traditional mandate of the school. He states that "one of the primary purposes of the school is to preserve culture by transmitting it to succeeding generations, but it is almost always the culture middle-class English or French Canada."

2.3.2 Education of the Culturally Different

The purpose of this approach is to equalize opportunities for culturally different students. The basic assumptions are that: assimilation is preferred because it helps newcomers succeed in thei adopted society; there are significant differences between the predominant culture and the cultures minority ethnic groups in North America; cultural differences cause learning problems for the culturally different student; an equality of educational opportunity requires promoting equal achievements between children from ethnic groups and the dominant group. The target audience is primarily students from culturally different grou Curricular or pedagogical considerations include: curricula which includes the study of English as second language; regular curricula which relates course materials to the student's cultural background. The study of English as a second language should relate to the learning of basic concepts in other subjects.

Gibson (1976, 748) states that this approach attempts to compensate for lower academic achievement, high drop-out rates and restricted career aspiration. Young (1979, 5-21) criticizes this approach, arguing that it is merely a liberal assimilationist plot to ensure conformity. Johnstone (1981, 43) argues that there is very little evidence to support a correlation between this approach and academic success. Moreover, he says that there is no foundation to the assumption that equality between cultural groups will result from multicultural education.

2.3.3 Education for Cultural Understanding

The purpose of this approach is liberal pluralist, or to encourage understanding and appreciation of cultural similarities and differences in order to foster social harmony. The basic assumptions are that: cultural pluralism and ethnic differences should be valued; Canada is a culturally diverse society; cultural diversity is a benefit to society; schools should promote understanding and acceptance of cultural differences to foster the individual's sense of well-being, reduce discrimination, and promote social justice; students need to be prepared for a culturally-diverse society. The target audience is all students. Curricular or pedagogical considerations include: utilizing any school subject to focus on cultural matters or teach tolerance; utilizing social studies or history to teach about cultural roots; textbooks without cultural bias; and emphasizing the use of materials with ethnic visibility.

According to Lawson (1982, 36), this approach implies a structural recognition of cultural differences as a way to increase the influence of minority groups and create a climate for educational success. Johnstone (1981, 44) criticizes this approach on the grounds that it tends to over-emphasize the group at the expense of the individual. This is because it requires a certain level of trust between the minority and majority cultures which is often difficult if not impossible to achieve.

Kehoe cautions that simply providing information about an ethnic group lessens prejudice only slightly and that courses studying the nature of prejudice are ineffective and sometimes even counter productive. He maintains that "knowledge and positive attitudes increase the likelihood, but do not guarantee, that a student's behaviour will be consistent with his attitudes." (1980, 79)

2.3.4 Education for Cultural Accommodation

The purpose of this approach is accommodationist, or to encourage the extension of cultural diversity and foster equality. The assumptions are that: new cultural and structural elements from the host community are incorporated into a modified cultural character; cultural pluralism is the most desirable option; equality in society is promoted through the development of equal power and dignity among all cultural groups; equality is developed by allowing ethnic groups to preserve their cultural identity, language and institutions; positive cultural identification encourages success at school and promotes social equality. The target audience is students from all groups, but especially culturally different students. Curricular or pedagogical considerations include: cultural retention classes or ethnic studies, heritage language programs, and instruction in the student's own language by a teacher of the same cultural background.

Henley and Young (1981, 7-16) claim that schools have failed to achieve the purpose of this approach largely because the curriculum is assimilative and based on the premises inherent in a white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant orientation. Johnstone (1981, 44) agrees with this criticism and points out a contradiction inherent in this approach, namely that multicultural education often overemphasizes differences, thus subtly reinforcing cultural superiority-inferiority hypotheses. He also suggests that stereotyping is an unintended outcome of this approach.

2.3.5 Education for Cultural Preservation

The purpose of this approach is segregationalist, or to help ethnic groups maintain their unique identities. The assumptions are that: a mosaic of segregated peoples is ideal; cultural walls are the best way to keep a culture intact; political interaction is desirable if it strengthens the demands of ethnic groups for protection of cultural identities and for equitable distribution of goods and services; broader social goals are subordinate to ethnic goals; and intermarriage is a threat to insularity. The target population is students from ethnic groups. Curricular or pedagogical considerations include: separate school systems or schools-within schools; control of the curriculum or teachers by the cultural group to ensure the transmission of values and beliefs; cultural socialization and evaluation of other cultures; curricula which emphasize knowledge, skills and attitudes required by one's particular culture rather than those needed for survival in the outside world.

Wood (1986, 21) sees this approach as undesirable since multiculturalism is really about preserving the delicate balance between the legitimate aspirations of the ethnic groups and the legitimate needs of the society. He maintains that this approach does not prepare students for life. According to Wood, segregation is not an option because today's students will live in a society in which they will mix the culture of the public sphere with the culture of the private sphere of their ethnic community.

2.3.6 Education for Multicultural Adaptation

The purpose of this approach is to foster biculturalism or teach people to work in two or more cultures. The assumptions are that: personal identification with culture reduces alienation; a second language benefits the individual and society; to choose one's cultural allegiance, an understanding of other cultures is necessary; and individuals should be free to shed their original cultural skin. The target audience is all students. Curricular or pedagogical considerations include: supplementing the regular curriculum to include immersion classes, courses taught in different languages, ethnic studies; teachers from different cultural groups; an emphasis on multicultural extra curricular activities.

Friesen is somewhat skeptical of this approach. He states that:

> The argument that a person can be equally comfortable in two different cultures ignores the reality of marginality which

> implies a kind of cultural schizophrenia for individuals who strive to integrate both cultures. (1985, 7)

From a more practical perspective, Stephan (1981, 3-11) and Roe (1982, 16) raise questions as to whether such an approach can be incorporated into an already crowded curriculum.

Summary

There is then, no clear consensus among educators about the place, nature and purposes of multicultural education. However, Henley and Young argue that this should not deter the educational system from offering multicultural education. According to these writers:

> ...schools cannot avoid taking part in this debate because of their role within the wide societal context. There are certain issues that have to be addressed by schools if they are to help create a more equitable social order, one in which ethnicity does not inhibit an individual's full participation within Canadian society. ...This is not to suggest that schools can singlehandedly effect a radical change in the nature of Canadian society. We would argue, however, that they have an important contribution to make toward the quest for a "just" society that is also multicultural. (1981, 14, 15)

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3. POLICIES, PROGRAMS AND PRACTICES

3.1 FEDERAL POLICIES AND PROGRAMS

The federal multicultural policy was developed at a time when historical, political and social factors converged to provide an impetus.

Multiculturalism in Canada was a fact of life even before Confederation. Three broad categories of peoples; i.e., the Aboriginal peoples, the Charter peoples of French and English descent and groups of immigrants mainly of European descent constituted the cultural composition of Canada until the 1920's. Subsequent immigration, from Asia and the third world countries, added another dimension in later years.

According to Palmer there were always two Canadas, the Canada portrayed as a mosaic in which ethnocultural communities live in peace, quietly maintaining their unique way of life, and the Canada characterized by discrimination and unequal treatment based on ethnocultural origin. (1982, 5). The Canadian Government dealt with problems arising from the presence and interaction of many cultures, such as adjustment, equitable treatment, human rights, prejudice and even racism in various ways, and according to circumstances, groups involved, jurisdictions and popular opinion.

When the federal policy on multiculturalism was initiated, it merely represented a formalization of an established approach to dealing with the demands, concerns and problems raised by various ethnocultural communities and their leaders. The policy actually had its genesis in 1962 when Prime Minister Pearson announced the establishment of a Royal Commission to investigate the issues of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada. According to Gwyn, the Commission's work was thought to be complete in 1969, but pressure from ethno-cultural spokespersons demanding that the contributions and needs of their cultures be recognized, forced the commission to reconsider its findings. The final report was later amended to recognize the multicultural nature of Canada. (1974, 15-18)

The original Act on Multiculturalism contained five specific programs. The Cultural Development Program was designed to conduct research and produce information on topics such as the extent and nature of the demand for language retention by individual cultural groups. The Ethnic Histories Program was designed to produce histories of twenty different ethnic groups. The Canadian Ethnic Studies Program was designed to look into the problems of ethnic studies in Canadian educational institutions. The Program for Teaching the Official Languages was designed to provide assistance in the teaching of French or English to immigrant children.

In addition, the Canadian Multicultural Council, an advisory body both to the Minister and to the Multiculturalism Directorate, was established. The latter was set up to implement programs to encourage the retention of ethnocultural languages and other cultural forms. Details of specific multicultural education projects sponsored by this agency exist in published form and are available from the office of the Secretary of State.

Initially, there were no federal policies and programs developed to deal directly with multicultural education, because schools are within provincial jurisdiction. But as research demonstrates, provincial governments developed programs that focussed almost exclusively on the instruction of official languages, heritage languages or English as a Second language, drawing on federal funding for these programs.

While some critics like Burnet and Lupul readily identify inadequacies in the way that Canada's multicultural policy is implemented, the federal mechanisms to accommodate identified ethnocultural needs are in place and can be mobilized provided the political will is behind it. (Burnet 1979, 43-58; Lupul, 1982, 93-102)

Friesen argues that the policy was not the primary stimulus for multicultural activities. Communities had already developed quite an independent interest in multiculturalism to the extent that ethnocultural centres and activities such as heritage days, second language schools and festivals were established across North America. Schools also became involved in similar kinds of activities, which some critics refer to as the museum approach. (1985, 42-44)

It was also in the 1960's, according to Friesen, that the first formal reference to what we now call multicultural education, appeared in print. The Encyclopedia of Educational Research included in its listings, the category of "intercultural education."

This gave the cluster of activities and programs emerging in post-secondary institutions across North America some credibility. Gradually social scientists from various disciplines such as anthropology, human geography, sociology, and psychology became interested in the concept of multiculturalism and academic literature began to address topics such as prejudice, discrimination, and human rights. University programs and courses began to reflect an interest in multiculturalism as an area of academic interest, as well as a forum for social change, including affirmative action for minorites. (1977, 46-48)

Friesen also gives examples of American efforts in multiculturalism including the Afro-American Program at Columbia University in 1968, the San Diego State College Ethnic Studies Program in the same year, the teacher training program for Native communities by the University of North Dakota in 1969, and the Center for Indian Education at Arizona State University in the late sixties. In Canada, The University of Saskatchewan was first in Western Canada to meet the needs of Native communities by establishing a bachelor's degree in Native Studies in 1970. The Universtiy of Regina established the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College. The University of Alberta followed with a major in intercultural Education. Today all Western Canadian Universities have some kind of program related to multiculturalism, Native studies or ethnic studies, and those in Eastern Canada have adopted similar specialties, e.g., Trent, Queen's, Laurentian and Western Ontario. The latter institution features a Cross-Cultural Learning Centre with a special counselling program oriented toward multiculturalism. (1977, 46-48)

Thus, the growing interest in activities of a multicultural nature converged and spurred all three levels of government and school boards to develop policies, implement programs, and organize activities. A brief survey of Canada's federal and provincial policies and programs demonstrates the response of these institutions.

3.2 PROVINCIAL PROGRAMS AND PRACTICES

A review of provincial policies reveals that little more than lip service is being paid to the broader goals of multicultural education. Wilson argues that schools are not fully preparing students for living in Canada and cites Jaenen as stating that "A multicultural nation should expect the regional and cultural diversity of Canada to be a normal part of learning experiences." He goes on to state that multiculturalism has not received its due attention.

> To date we have allowed ourselves to focus attention on multiculturalism as adjustment to Canadian society for recent immigrants and more recently as a vehicle for fighting racism and discrimination. Multiculturalism as a definition of Canada and multiculturalism as language and cultural retention have always been played down or ignored altogether. (1984, 62)

He suggests that the reasons for this lack of attention revolve around the failure of the dominant society to accept multiculturalism as a political, economic and social definition of Canada, and the fact that education is a prerogative of the provinces. (1984, 62)

McLeod echoes these concerns when he states that:

> Few provinces, however, have adopted a comprehensive policy on multicultural education that outlines basic principles and areas of concern. The lack of provincial policies is a serious deficiency because the responsibility for overall policy in Canadian education is vested in the provincial governments and legislatures. (1984, 39)

However, McLeod concludes that educational efforts are shifting from an emphasis on problems or specific ethnic concerns to a more general cultural/intercultural approach. (1984, 45)

In the review of provincial policies that follows, it is apparent that each of Canada's provinces has formally recognized the multicultural nature of Canada but none has a comprehensive multicultural education policy. In terms of principles and objectives of multicultural policy, provincial policies echo parts of the federal policy. At the level of programs and services, there is a focus on language instruction of all types. Therefore, while the broad objectives of multiculturalism are widely accepted at the policy level, provisions for multicultural education, other than language instruction do not flow from the stated provincial policy.

3.2.1 British Columbia

The Ministry of Education in British Columbia accepted the federal policy in 1971, but has initiated no official policy on multicultural education. While the province established an Ad Hoc Committee on Multiculturalism in Education, with a dual mandate of defining a policy and organizing a colloquium on methods of implementing such a policy, the recommendations of the conference were never formalized. According to Wilson any initiatives on the policy level have come through individual school boards, rather than through the Ministry. Since there is no policy, there are also no goals and objectives. (1984, 71)

At the level of programs and services, there is activity in the area of language instruction, Native education, and reducing racism. Under the provisions of the School Act, the Lieutenant-Governor in Council has the authority to prescribe courses of study and accompanying materials. As of mid 1986, curriculum guides have been prescribed for French as a Second Language, Early French Immersion, Late French Immersion, Program Cadre de Francais, and French Immersion Secondary. Various other heritage languages are taught, and a German exchange program has been established. English as a second language was taught until the program was terminated in 1985.

In the area of Native education, the Ministry of Education is in close liaison with Native communities across British Columbia and supports efforts toward locally-developed curricula. The Ministry also liaises with the Native Teacher Education Program on native curriculum matters.

There is also some interest in reducing racism through multiculturalism in education. A pilot project initiated by the Ministry of Education, entitled "Alternatives to Racism," has been launched in co-operation with several school boards. A conceptual framework of 34 propositions and suggested activities for remediation to guide the development of curriculum units has been developed. These can be applied to any course of study at any grade level. (Kehoe, 1985, 140)

The initiatives taken by B.C., are referred to as "feeble steps" by Wilson who suggests that evidence of a commitment to a multicultural curriculum, is difficult to find. (1975, 71)

3.2.2 Alberta

According to Creamer and Sheridan, Alberta's position on multicultural education is officially incorporated in the Alberta Cultural Heritage Act of 1984. The broad principles and objectives of the policy are to promote tolerance, understanding and cultural maintenance. The policy is designed to promote cultural diversity, allow ethnocultural groups to maintain separate identities, acknowledge the value of cultural heritage to community life, encourage cultural expression as a means of achieving harmony and unity, preserve the cultural wealth of the past, and give Albertans increasing pride and identity as people. (1986, 4). Also in 1984, the Final Report of the Committee on Tolerance and Understanding (CTU) (1984) reported on public education, private religious education, Native education, and multicultural education. Specific recommendations called for a provincial Intercultural Policy, currently under development; revisions to the Provincial Goals of Education and Goals of Schooling, the establishment of an Intercultural Education Development Fund, continued and expanded programs for official heritage and ESL language instruction, the implementation of an intercultural education policy by each school board. According to Wood, the report also expressed a number of value positions which are based on the ideological premises of cultural pluralism, individualism, human rights, and the social goals of multiculturalism generally. (1976, 13-15)

However, until the new policy comes into effect, multicultural programs and services will be subsumed under the Alberta Cultural Heritage Council, which advises government through the Minister of Culture on all matters relating to the Cultural Heritage Act. This Council directs the activities of the Cultural Heritage Division, which in turn encourages a co-ordinated approach to cultural heritage development by working with a number of departments, including education. The emphasis of the programs and services have a strong linguistic orientation, especially in the area of non-official languages. The Cultural Heritage Division supports the teaching and learning of languages by assisting ethnocultural organizations operating Heritage Language Schools outside of the public and separate school systems. The focus is on providing services to improve the quality of teaching, the degree of student fluency, and the provision of Alberta-based teaching resources.

While Alberta has basically taken a linguistic view on multiculturalism, the CTU Report may provide the basis for a broader approach to multicultural education.

3.2.3 Saskatchewan

The Saskatchewan Act was passed in 1974,

> to encourage multiculturalism in the province and to provide assistance to individuals and groups to increase opportunities available to them to learn about the nature of cultural heritages and to learn about the contributions of the cultural heritages of other multicultural groups in the province.

This assistance, in the form of a grant, is available to any person, public or private non-profit body meeting specified conditions. The principles of the policy include the belief that individuals and groups, not government, have prime responsibility for activities related to multicultural heritage and that the community has a central role in defining and delivering multicultural programs. According to Creamer and Sheridan the principles also include the recognition of cultural pluralism, individualism and social justice. The objectives of the policy are to raise public awareness of multicultural heritage and traditions, and to create a tolerant, accessible society. (1986, 18)

According to Wilson, the programs and services related to education have a linguistic focus and offer core French and French immersion programs in schools. The Heritage Language Program provides financial support on a formula basis for supplementary schools for students of K-12. The School Act has also been amended to permit a language other than English to be used as a language of instruction and to provide financial incentives and support for the development of second-language instruction. (1984, 70)

Another area of considerable interest and effort is that of Native education curriculum development. A five-year action plan is currently being implemented by the Department of Education to: include Native content in the core curriculum, develop special Native programs, develop supporting materials, and develop inservice support.

3.2.4 Manitoba

Manitoba was the first province to establish a multicultural policy in 1972 and has taken an active interest ever since. According to Creamer and Sheridan the policy was designed to: redress social and ethnic inequality by identifying and removing barriers to equal participation; eradicate ethnic an racial discrimination; create a climate in which the principles of multiculturalism would be applied to all aspects of Manitoba life and society; and assure a proactive role in the protection of minority rights. (1986, 6). The policy is currently under review, on the basis of responses to a Multicultural Education Policy Discussion Paper. (1986). The paper provides a strong rationale for multicultural education when it states that:

> The broad goals of public education stress the developmental needs of all students. Education that is multicultural in nature must be responsive to cultural and linguistic diversity that characterizes our society. Its place within the curriculum acknowledges the need to prepare all students to live in a multicultural society. Objectives that seek to recognize and understand the main forms that culture takes, to assist students to develop and retain a personal identity through an awareness of their own cultural and historical heritages, and to develop an understanding and respect for the cultural and historic heritages of others, are integral to the school program in its entirety. (1986, 1)

The Discussion Paper recommends three main thrusts. The first thrust, education for cultural integration is based on the premise that all children have the right to equality of opportunity in education. It promotes effective language programs, staff educational programs for cultural awareness, identification of community liaison personnel and other initiatives to integrate minority linguistic children into the educational system. The second thrust, educatio for cultural and linguistic development (biculturalism or bilingualism), is based on the premise that cultural pluralism is a positive force in society. It promotes instruction in French, English and heritage languages as part of the regular school program. The third thrust, education for intercultural understanding, is based on the premise that education should help students develop a strong sense of personal identity through an awareness of their own cultural and historic heritages, and understanding and respect for that of others. It recommends using the school curriculum to promote understanding between all cultural groups, elimination of biased, stereotypical and discriminatory materials and practices, and portraying ethnocultural groups in a positive way.

The Paper also states that Manitoba Education will: enhance multicultural education throughout all curriculum areas; support heritage language and second language education; develop resource materials for heritage languages, cross-cultural education and ESL programs; provide professional development programs for teachers and ESL programs; develop programs for students lacking proficiency in both official languages; consult with ethnocultural communities; enhance awareness of multiculturalism in schools and the community; and develop criteria to assure equality of opportunity in the hiring, promotion and evaluation of departmental personnel. The paper also proposes to expand the goals of learning to include the enhancement of students' abilities to identify, analyze and judge bias, prejudice, stereotyping and the omission of pluralism, commonality and diversity.

In consultation with the Department of Education, Manitoba's teachers have played an active role in promoting a multicultural education policy, and have recommended action to the Department of Education in the areas of curriculum, resources and materials, teacher education and professional development, and institutional commitment to multiculturalism.

In an attempt to broaden the definition of multicultural education, the background report of the Manitoba Teachers' Society's 1980 Annual Report, states that multicultural education

> is not simply a matter of introducing a new course nor is it just the teaching of another ancestral language. Although it may include these aspects, it should be viewed as an all-encompassing approach with three major components: mainstream multicultural education, immigrant orientation and New Canadian awareness, (and) ancestral languages of established ethnocultural groups. (1980, 10)

Currently the Department's programs include heritage language instruction, accompanying curriculum services, ESL consultants who work with Native groups and immigrants, the celebration of a Multicultural Week, a Multicultural Educational Resource Centre and officers who perform a liaison role between ethnocultural communities and the Department of Education.

If the recommendations of the Discussion Paper are implemented, Manitoba's response to multiculturalism will represent an attempt to: broaden the definition of multiculturalism, and the schools' responsibility for promoting cultural awareness and tolerance, integrate the premises of multiculturalism and incorporate several of the educational approaches to multiculturalism. To date, this discussion paper provides, even though not in official form, the most comprehensive approach to multicultural education, of any of the provinces.

3.2.5 Ontario

Ontario's policy on multicultural education is embodied in a document entitled: "Special Populations in Education." (1979). The policy states that:

> It has been recognized that the responsibility for preparing all Ontario students to live in Canada's multicultural society has significant implications in terms of general approaches to education, as well as in provision for special populations. In meeting the common needs of all students, publicly provided education has the task of encouraging general system sensitivity, while ensuring that individual and group needs are met in a way that will facilitate full participation by all students in the educational opportunities of the system. (1979, 23)

According to McLeod, Ontario has been active in the area of curriculum. It has sponsored the development of guidelines for bias-free texts and curriculum materials, disseminated documents to schools outlining a cultural/intercultural basis for early elementary grades, adopted a special certificate for teachers who take training in multicultural education, and adopted a history course for secondary education called "Canada's Multicultural Heritage." (1984, 40)

In the area of language instruction, McLeod states that Ontario implemented the Heritage Language Program in 1978, under which 50 languages were taught to about 75,000 students. Complete French education is offered as well as instruction in French for elementary students from grade four on. French immersion programs are also offered, as are ESL programmes for immigrant and Canadian-born children. The Ontario programs also provide for the continuous evaluation of existing curriculum resources, and textbooks, in-service professional development, resource materials for classroom use, consideration for racial and religious minorites, and general citizenship education. (1984, 40)

Although education of Native people is a federal responsibility, Ontario provides for the membership of Natives on school boards, has developed curriculum materials for Native students, and appoints an official to oversee the province's responsibilities in Native education.

According to McLeod, the implementation of these policies and programs has been slow, especially in secondary schools, because they are more subject-oriented and the teachers have been less innovative. (1984, 41)

3.2.6 Quebec

As stated previously in this report, Quebec does not accept the legitimacy of the federal multiculturalism policy. However, Quebec does have a policy, formulated in 1981, which speaks of cultural pluralism. Its purpose is to preserve Quebec's French character, promote respect for the principle of equality of individuals, develop tolerance, understanding and openness between ethnocultural communities and the Francophone communities, and encourage full participation by all in Quebec society. According to Creamer and Sheridan, the policy is based on the principles that Quebec is a distinct society in Canada; that Quebec society is threatened as a minority in Canada and North America; that Quebec is a pluralistic society and other ethnocultural minorites are an asset; and that individuals should be treated equally. (1986, 19)

Quebec's efforts lie mainly in the area of heritage languages. This is based on the belief that individuals have the right to maintain and develop their cultures of origin.

3.2.7 New Brunswick

In 1986, a "Policy on Multiculturalism" was tabled in the New Brunswick Legislature. The policy is guided by four principles: equality, appreciation, preservation of cultural heritages, and participation.

The policy is designed to ensure adherence to the New Brunswick Human Rights Act, eliminate ethnic and racial discrimination, help newcomers overcome cultural barriers, increase public understanding of the province's multicultural composition, encourage the retention of cultural heritages, and provide access to one of the official languages.

The policy represents only a verbal commitment at this point, and its implementation will be recommended by a Ministerial Advisory Committee, representative of all cultural communities. Since being established in late 1986, the Committee has begun to develop an action plan to ensure that the policy is implemented.

There is no mention of any provision for multiculturalism in education. One of the reasons suggested by Wilson, is that teachers "have reported a bureaucratic resistance to the whole concept of multiculturalism." (1984, 70)

3.2.8 Nova Scotia

Nova Scotia's policy is based on the principles that the province has a responsibility to assist in preserving its many cultures and traditions, and must ensure that all its citizens have the opportunity to achieve their full potential.

The objectives of the policy include: creating an awareness of the province's cultural mosaic; reducing stereotyping, discrimination and prejudice; demonstrating the value of differences and similarities, integrating ethnic groups into the economic and social mainstream; and encouraging understanding, learning and sharing cultural values.

The programs and services are delivered by several government departments, including Education. While the Department of Education does not have a formal policy, it has been active in several areas. In 1975, it established an Ethnic Services Division with responsibilities for human rights education, multicultural education, and education programs for visible minorites. According to McLeod, this Division worked closely with the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union, to develop teacher in-service workshops. In 1979, the Union had adopted a broad policy on multiculturalism which promoted ethnocultural awareness, equality of opportunity and access, teacher sensitivity, curriculum reform and the development of support services, programs, materials and resources. (1984, 42)

In 1985, the Ethnic Services Division was placed under the jurisdiction of the Human Rights Commission, with teacher education as the focal point. According to Creamer and Sheridan there is some concern that the thrust of the Division will lose its impact as a result. (1986, 11). While Nova Scotia officially supports multiculturalism, Wilson maintains that there is little evidence contained in curriculum guides and handbooks. (1984, 70)

3.2.9 Prince Edward Island

Like Quebec, Prince Edward Island views the bicultural and multicultural federal policies as designed to address national problems, and of greatest value to those in urban centres. Prince Edward Island sees itself as a unicultural society enriched by the blending of the four main cultural groups, Scottish, Irish, Acadian and Native. It also views federal policies as having only limited value in terms of understanding Island culture, but more relevance in terms of promoting equality and harmony.

Multicultural activities are implemented under the auspices of the Community and Cultural Affairs Ministry. Attempts to establish a broad multicultural policy have not been successful. However, there have been some developments in the Ministry of Education which support multicultural education. A new policy was recently developed to recognize cultural diversity and fundamental human rights, and to ensure that curriculum guides portray all cultural groups fairly. Also, the Department is drawing on community resources to evaluate textbooks to ensure fair racial and cultural representation. Other government departments involved in supporting aspects of multiculturalism include the Department of Industry which is responsible for ESL.

3.2.10 Newfoundland

Newfoundland does not consider multiculturalism a major issue and has no formal policy, although support for all cultural groups is provided through the Newfoundland Multicultural and Folk Arts Council. The programs and services delivered by a variety of departments have some very limited elements of multiculturalism. For example, the Department of Education offers university courses in heritage languages and a special interest course in ethnic cooking, fiddle music and traditional theatre.

3.3 POLICIES IN OTHER NATIONS

3.3.1 United States

For over two hundred years, the United States has worked at assimilating newcomers into the national culture. According to Baptiste, three distinct policies have been implemented to accomplish this. (1979, 3-5). The first, based on a social hierarchy concept, ensured that the most wealthy immigrants were treated most fairly. The second, based on race, endorsed assimilation and was operant until segregation was outlawed in 1954. The third, based on cultural diversity, is currently being implemented. Ehlers and Crawford (1983, 263) argue that a new American philosophy is emerging - one that views ethnocentrism as narrow, and cultural competence and understanding as preferable for individuals and society. Pratte disagrees, stating that such a philosophy is only possible if there is a major structural shift in American society. (1979, 83-85)

Multicultural policy in the United States is formulated with reference to the Constitution and a series of State Acts. While organizations such as the National Education Association, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, and the National Council for Social Studies have drafted policy statements to address the particularity of their areas of jurisdiction, these statements are necessarily consistent with the Constitution. The statement of the A.A.C.T.E., framed in 1973, and entitled, "No One Model American," reaffirms the principle that cultural diversity is an integral part of American life. According to Cole, some objectives of the policy are: to promote students' understanding of living in various groups; to foster an understanding and appreciation of ethnocultural groups in the U.S. and abroad; to foster understanding of interrelatedness and interdependence; and to assist in the development of skills for living in a culturally diverse society. (1983, 153)

Current multicultural policies in the U.S. have progressed considerably since educational historian, Cubberly, stated in 1909 that the national mandate with regard to immigrants was to "...break up their groups and settlements, to assimilate or amalgamate these people as a part of the American race..." (1909, 16). The pursuit of cultural pluralism is currently recognized as a legitimate national mandate, even though conservative critics maintain that its implementation in the schools will erode national standards of education. Radical critics, on the other hand, argue that these policies do not deal seriously with the structural inequities of American society and merely serve as a "palliative to contain justified ethnic rage." (Banks, 1984, 58-65)

3.3.2 Australia

Like Canada, Australia has an official governmental policy on multiculturalism, but without provision for two official languages. The national multicultural policy, declared in 1978, was based on the Galbally Report. This report affirmed the principles of "unity in the midst of diversity," and recommended that Australia become a "cohesive, united, multicultural nation." (Bullivant, 1981, 13; Partington, 1985, 35-56)

Although multicultural practices have been in place for over a decade, a number of problems are emerging. For example, there are signs of a growing discrepancy between policy and practice. Foster states that this discrepancy has three dimensions. First, there is the problem of equity; in that some groups tend to benefit more from societal structures than do others, and any pronouncement of equity to the disadvantaged is mere rhetoric. Second, is the problem of disunity, in that the consciousness and consequences of Australia's pluralist composition serve to ignite interethnic tensions. Third, rapid technological change is reducing employment in the traditional trades where many ethnic groups find their life's work. (Foster, 1985, 189-190)

Current multicultural thrusts are proceeding along eight fronts: 1) better education for Aboriginals, 2) better, more effective education for immigrants, 3) establishing ESL programs for various ages,

4) offering bilingual and bicultural curriculum projects in ethnic schools, 5) amending social studies curricula to include content about Aboriginal/immigrant traditions and lifestyles, 6) relevant teacher in-service programs, 7) increased foreign language instruction in the schools, and 8) encouraging research in multiculturalism. (Shafer, 1983, 415-435)

An evaluation of Australia's multicultural education program in 1983 concluded that while the program was basically successful, it had not brought about substantial and lasting change in the state school system. Significant improvements in the area of curriculum had resulted in better interethnic understanding between state officials and Aboriginal leaders. In addition, a number of heritage language projects were well received by several ethnocultural groups which felt that their heritage was no longer ignored. (Cahill, 1986, 55-61). On the other hand, the multicultural programs were criticized on four fronts: administrative weakness, shortcomings in aims and objectives, inadequate teacher training programs, and deficiencies in second language instruction.

3.3.3 Britain

The British Parliament passed legislation pertaining to immigration and racism in 1962, 1965, 1968, 1971 and 1976. The latter culminated in a Race Relations Act, upon which all current laws and regulations in that area are based. The Act is intended to outlaw discrimination to promote equality of opportunity and positive race relations. (Johnson, 1984, 13)

Britain's multicultural policy has been operationalized in various localities in different ways through the National Commission on Racial Equality. The Commission works with local authorities, including educational, to create effective programs, fund these programs, monitor the effects of the programs and encourage initiative and change when needed. In the area of schooling specifically, practical efforts include teacher training, youth work, community-based education and college education, among others.

In 1978, the Warnock Report addressed the area of educational segregation on the basis of religion, disabilities, gender and ability. The Report supported the principles of integration, and the 1981

Education Act supplied the necessary statutory sanction. Robert Jeffcoate argues that England also fosters a fifth kind of segregation based on social class. More subtle than some of the other kinds, its practice limits the opportunities of pupils from lower socio-economic groups and is highly correlated with ethnicity. (Jeffcoate, 1984, 47-51)

A number of British writers have concentrated on the teacher's role in operationalizing multiculturalism. As in North America, this theme is based on the assumption that the school can be an effective agent of social change. In a survey on teacher training Keith Watson concluded that regardless of how much textbooks and school curricula were changed, it was the teachers' attitudes toward multiculturalism that helped change student's attitudes to become more accepting of the ethnically different child. He states that training institutions are performing poorly in preparing teachers in multiculturalism, and doubts that this will improve in view of inadequate funding by the state and because the traditional British philosophy of inequality is still very strong. (1984, 385-400). Watson's position is supported by Troyna and Jeffcoate who claim that teachers in Britain are too often blamed for attitudes not conducive to multicultural education, when in fact they are merely allowing common attitudes toward ethnic minorities to go unchallenged. Jeffcoate, in fact, claims that his findings in a study of British teachers revealed that the majority of teachers clearly favored schools which adopted policies on combatting sexism and racist attitudes among children. (1984, 50). Troyna echoes this conclusion, pointing out that as many as 90 percent of teachers in his studies favor the introduction of multicultural education, and argues that teacher attitudes are only one factor in the process of building multicultural understandings. (1984)

Summary

Critics and proponents of multiculturalism alike often point to the discrepancy between official multicultural policies and the experiences of ethnocultural minorites in Canada. According to Masemann, the same is true for the United States, Australia and Britain, where official statements support equality, but the assimilative tendencies of basic institutions persist. For example, Canada's Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism refers to "unity in diversity"; the Australian Education Portfolio paper on multiculturalism refers to "co-existing harmoniously"; the American N.C.A.T.E. Standards of Accreditation of Teacher Education support "individual cultural integrity"; and the British Department of Education and Science promises to create a "cohesive, multicultural society on which the future of the country - and possibly the world - depends." (Masemann, 1981, 39)

All four countries have also witnessed the influx of immigrants, and multicultural policies have been formulated in response to the special needs and expectations of immigrants. The first step has always been to provide ESL instruction to these newcomers, to help them integrate into the host society more readily. (Purnell, 1984, i)

According to Jones (1986, 111) while all four countries are officially committed to supporting the broad social goals of multiculturalism, none has been able to achieve a satisfying balance of "diversity within unity." This may be so because the implementation of multiculturalism requires fundamental changes in the orientation of individuals, societal values, and institutions.

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4. ISSUES

4.1 CULTURAL PLURALISM

Cultural pluralism has already been dealt within this report from several perspectives. It was shown that the concept of cultural pluralism plays a prominent role in any definition of multiculturalism and multicultural education (see 1.4). The emphasis of Canada's multicultural policy on recognizing and supporting cultural diversity was also reviewed (see 2.1). The premise that cultural pluralism characterizes the Canadian experience and that this in itself provides a justification for multicultural education, was addressed (see 2.2.1). A number of different educational approaches to dealing with cultural pluralism were reviewed (see 2.3). Finally, the extent to which educational policies in Canada and other countries offer widespread support for the concept of cultural pluralism, while rarely implementing it at the program level, was also shown (see 3).

This review now turns to a closer examination of other dimensions of cultural pluralism.

The concept of cultural pluralism was developed in the early part of this century by an American, Horace Kallen. However, its impact was not felt until the civil rights movement of the 1960's and 70's and later, when it became an important component of the concept of multiculturalism. (Kallen, 1924; Bennett, 1986). Pratte suggests, however, that while the U.S. has recently embraced pluralism, the rhetoric about the concept often does not find expression in reality. (Pratte, 1979, 8-9)

Various theorists have since attempted to clarify the concept of cultural pluralism, and its corollary, unity in diversity. Milton Gordon's classic work elaborates on two difficulties faced by minority groups, i.e., the problems of balance between maintaining a separate lifestyle, and contributing to the larger society; and between maintaining certain facets of a minority culture and ensuring that they do not impinge on the rights of others. (1964, 16-17). There are other difficulties as well. Izkoff argues that because differences in culture are often used as weapons, this has led to the fear that pluralism perpetuates inequality. (1969, 5)

Canadian sociologists like Porter have argued that cultural pluralism has created ethnic stratification because certain groups of immigrants took on jobs not wanted by anyone else. He also suggests that Canada may have even allowed an open immigration policy to create a labour force of acquiescent immigrants. (1972, 196)

On the other hand, Anderson and Frideres suggest that cultural pluralism, or the concept that ethnocultural minorities can coexist peacefully alongside a powerful dominant society, is an important and positive Canadian value. Moreover, it will likely persist due to the visibility of certain minorities, a continuing emphasis by minorities on preserving a distinct identity, and the ability of some groups to isolate themselves geographically. An undefined national Canadian identity is another contributing factor, as is the ability of many minorities to develop a relatively high degree of institutional completeness. (1980, 106-115)

Anderson and Frideres maintain that cultural pluralism, is a process rather than a condition, fluctuating and flexible, rather than static and fixed. (1981, 232-233). Cultural pluralism holds implications for intergroup relations, power, equality, and identity maintenance. There are a number of responses available to intergroup relations. Some minorities choose to integrate into the dominant culture on their terms while others gradually integrate without knowing it, and eventually accept the structural and ideological components of the dominant society as their own. Still others turn to holding the dominant society accountable for their problems and may even become militant in their pursuit of cultural authenticity.

On the other hand, according to Friesen, if members of ethnocultural groups perceive that their group identity will be detrimental they may react in several ways. For example, they may adopt a variety of behaviors to rid themselves of unwanted cultural identification. They may also go to the extent of denying or attacking their heritage group in an effort to disassociate themselves from it. Others may defend their background or become ethnocentric. Still others may revert to cultural marginality and go through life actually being a part of two different cultures, but at home in neither. (1983, 12-21)

Political power is also an important aspect of cultural pluralism. According to Palmer many groups who imigrate to Canada still support political causes in their home countries for a variety of reasons. Palmer says that the arena of ethnic studies can be salted with "landmines" because every act or spoken and written word by an educator could have unfortunate consequences for the group in question, especially if they are seen to hinder the group's political aspirations. (1982, 81). Edwards states that politics are always important to those groups who are aware of the degree to which they must tread lightly in seeking to gain access to power positions. (1984, 193)

In order to gain political power, minorities may band together to exert pressure on government for certain rights or privileges. According to Berry (1981, 219) the Native community is a case in point, particularly regarding Bill C-31 and Native self-government. However, while these groups are agitating for greater consideration, public attitudes may turn against them and become even more negative and discriminatory.

As long as there is a majority group and there are ethnocultural minorities, the struggle to resist assimilation and maintain a cultural heritage and value system will continue. According to Ratcliff (1980, 50-51) individuals and groups in a pluralistic society, need to be aware of their own ethnicity, and decide how they will maintain those ties, and still relate to other ethnic groups and to the dominant society. (Ratcliff, 1980, 50-51)

Finding the right balance between individual and group identity has educational implications. According to Ornstein (1981, 78) children who develop a pride in their heritage, also do better school work. Pride and student achievement then are highly correlated. According to Sizemore (1973, 51) the school should serve as a model for finding this balance between individual and group identity and prepare students to function in a society where both are important.

Tiedt and Tiedt contend that the school should help students to become aware of their ethnic origins as well as those of others in the school, help them appreciate the contributions of their peers, and show them how to value the cultural and ethnic diversity of society. (1986, 1, 24)

Summary

While the concept of cultural pluralism is central to multicultural education, its operalization is riddled with complexity and it presents a number of challenges. First, there is the question of whether unity in diversity can really be achieved. There is also the matter of whether the rhetoric supporting cultural pluralism is consistent with experience and the realities of discrimination, and whether it perpetuates inequality and social stratification. There are also implications for identity, power, assimilation and rights. As a result, multicultural education policies, programs and activities should be designed to take into account the potential for misinterpretation, misunderstanding, heightened sensitivity or other negative reactions from individual students or ethnocultural groups. On the other hand, multicultural education has the potential to help students develop as individuals, and learn to relate positively to others of different ethnocultural backgrounds.

4.2 HUMAN RIGHTS

Human Rights has been dealt within this report from several perspectives. It was shown that the definition of multiculturalism refers to principles such as the freedom of individuals to retain and develop their cultures, observance of human rights and civil liberties as exemplified by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the common law and human rights code. Further, it was also shown that multicultural education is, among other things, an attempt to create a climate in school that operationalizes the philosophy of human rights (see 1.4). Reference was also made to Canada's multicultural policy which incorporated the right to preserve and develop one's culture (see 2.1). It was noted that in response to our cultural diversity, the school has a responsibility for ensuring social justice in terms of equality of opportunity and equality of experience (see 2.2.3). Educational approaches that tie into the concept of human rights include education of the culturally different, education for cultural understanding, and education for cultural accommodation (see 2.3). Finally it was shown that in terms of provincial policies, the Maritime provinces have built a significant human rights component into their policies, and Manitoba's discussion paper features social justice concerns in one of its three major thrusts.

This review now turns to a closer examination of dimensions of human rights, as they relate to multiculturalism and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

The concept of human rights originates from natural law, which is sometimes referred to as a universal code of ethics. This code is often regarded as transcending all cultural barriers and governing all human relations. While this code may be accepted by people around the globe, its application to specific instances is not at all straightforward and therefore often controversial. In terms of multiculturalism, the exact application of rights must be inferred deductively since they are not prescribed. (Schwartz, 1986, 1-18)

The rights established in the first chapter of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, include fundamental freedoms, democratic rights, mobility rights, legal rights, equality rights, those pertaining to official and minority languages, and general rights. While some of these provisions, such as those for women, handicapped persons, and religion have been tested in the courts, this process has just begun. According to Ray (1983, 3-5) universal educational rights include the right to learn, the right of access to state institutions designed to promote learning, and the right to pursue learning commensurate with one's abilities and personal needs. However, since education is within provincial jurisdiction it is difficult to establish what constitutes equality of opportunity or experience, and how to ensure these rights.

According to Friesen, it is commonly believed that laws or rights exist primarily to protect the majority and are awarded to minorities as gestures of goodwill. (1977, 26-28). There are many cases in Canadian history to illustrate this point, such as the loss of French language rights in Manitoba, restrictions on the rights of Hutterites to purchase land in Alberta, Canadian immigration laws discriminating against Asians, limitations on Native rights to alcohol, and the rights of religious groups, other than Roman Catholics, to obtain funding for private schools.

In terms of Aboriginal rights, the Charter affirms these, albeit in very general terms. The Charter simply states that existing rights shall be recognized. However, Native leaders are concerned that the quality of those rights is diminishing. Justice Thomas Berger supports those concerns, pointing out that while Native people have always had a special legal status in Canada, Native cultures have survived in spite of special legal provisions made on their behalf by the dominant society. One of the more important legal tests currently underway is the demand by some Native leaders that their claims be settled in accord with Native social, political and economic concepts. The recent First Ministers' Conference on Aboriginal Rights revealed the reluctance of some First Ministers to affirm the right of the Aboriginal peoples to self government. Native leaders have interpreted this reluctance as an implicit affirmation of assimilationist ideology.

Referring to the case of the interned Japanese during World War Two, Berger cautions that the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms does not guarantee that such an act could not reoccur. He cites the non obstante clause of the Charter and cautions that it is difficult to say how often legislators may exercise their power to override the Charter provisions. (1987, 393)

Evelyn Kallen's work in the area of multicultural rights is perhaps the most comprehensive to date. Kallen examines how the various dimensions of human rights relate to the principle of unity in diversity (1982). Although not a legal treatise, this work synthesizes various social science perspectives and delineates the claims of various ethnic communities.

In another context Kallen addresses the question of group vis a vis individual rights in Canada, stating that the Charter can only be applied to individual rights. At the group level, Canada's three main ethnocultural groups, i.e., the Charter nations of English and French, the Aboriginal peoples and immigrant peoples, cannot lay claim to the same kinds of collective rights. Each group basically stakes its claims on a different set of circumstances and to some degree, the three sets of claims are in conflict. (1987, 319)

According to Moodley, one of the areas where the Charter must take both individual and groups into account is the area of racism, prejudice and discrimination. Three approaches which have traditionally been followed are to: 1) ignore racial or ethnic affiliations and rule on the basis of universalism and individual merit; 2) correct an imbalance by instituting quotas and affirmative action-type programs; or 3) strike a balance between the first two alternatives. While the latter approach generally avoids exacerbating ethnic rivalries, it perpetuates inequalities. (1987, 405)

On the other hand, Hagan suggests it is virtually impossible to find any kind of interethnic contact that does not involve discrimination. The manifestations may include indifference, prejudice, unfair treatment or denial, and while the temptation is to immediately compensate or prevent a reoccurance, Hagan suggests that the situation may need to be re-examined. (1987, 344-346). What may appear to be discriminatory behavior to a member of a particular ethnocultural group may, in fact, not actually violate the Canadian Charter. Obviously the converse may also be true.

Strictly speaking, multicultural rights have not been entrenched in the Canadian Charter. According to Ray (1985, 10), the Charter cannot even supercede other laws that violate human rights. In addition, even an entrenched Charter may be ineffective when the spirit and the will is not there to sustain it.

Summary

While the concept of human rights is central to multiculturalism, its application is not a straightforward matter. In the Canadian context the application of human rights within the Charter is often controversial because, as in the case of multiculturalism, rights are inferred deductively and subject to interpretation. And because the Charter is so new, it has yet to be tested in the courts. Another difficulty is related to areas of jurisdiction. While the Charter may provide for rights such as equal opportunity, it does not apply directly to education, the one institution which has the resources to create equality of experience and equality of opportunity. More directly related to ethnocultural groups, the Charter is geared to individual rather than group rights. A complicating factor is that the claims of various ethnocultural groups may even be in conflict. And further, discriminatory behaviour may be interpreted differently by each group. As a result, multicultural education policies, programs and activities should take into account the universal elements of human rights that transcend cultures, the interpretive dimensions of human rights issues and the limitations of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

4.3 LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION

Language has already been dealt with in this report from several perspectives. It was shown that language plays an important role in multiculturalism.

The federal policy refers to language in three ways. First, it recognizes that Canada has two official languages, English and French. Second, it indirectly supports the learning of heritage languages when it promises to support all of Canada's cultures, resources permitting. Third, the policy promises to help immigrants acquire one of Canada's official languages (see 2.1).

Language is also an important consideration which runs through the premises of cultural pluralism and individualism. It was also shown that language is a key factor in the approaches to multicultural education (see 2.3). Education of the culturally different, which is essentially assimilationist, includes the study of English as a second language in order to help students succeed in their adopted society. Education for cultural accommodation, which encourages cultural diversity and equality, includes the study of heritage languages. Education for cultural adaptation, which fosters biculturalism, includes immersion classes and courses taught in different languages.

This report also reviewed the close identification of language with culture, the popular demand for language study, and provincial policies to accommodate language instruction. As has been shown, provinces provide for language instruction in their policies and programs (see 3.2).

This review now turns to a closer examination of various aspects of language instruction.

As a result of the federal policy's position on language, the rising self-assertion of ethnocultural groups, and increasing immigration, both the popular demand and the need for language study has been translated into three main approaches to language study: official languages, English or French as a second language and heritage languages.

4.3.1 Official Languages

Generally, Anglophones evidence a greater interest in learning the second official language than do Francophones. Some writers maintain that the proliferation of programs offering instruction in French is motivated by economic factors. Anglophones outnumber Francophones in nine of the ten provinces, and learn French primarily to have better access to employment opportunities, especially in the civil service. Francophone critics in Quebec, have argued that the bilingual policy is unfair because Francophone students have less use for English, which is taught on a more limited basis in their schools. Francophones who learn English will basically function only in Quebec where English is not really helpful in government service. (Hohwy, 1985; Martel, 1984; Parker, 1975)

It must be added that the benefits of language study are not restricted to employment in the civil service. Some proponents maintain that every Canadian citizen should have equal opportunity to learn both French and English. (Laferriere, 1984)

While bilingual language instruction may take several forms, one of the more popular and controversial approaches is total immersion. The second official language is taught to a group of children with little or no contact with the second language. The language is learned through its exclusive usage. Two types of immersion methods are used, early immersion and late immersion. Early immersion begins in kindergarten or grade one, and as the student progresses through the grades, usage of the native language is increased. Late immersion programs begin anywhere between the fourth and seventh grade, and consist of one or two years of immersion followed by the study of certain subjects in the immersion language.

The immersion approach is not without its concerns, according to Swain. There is some question as to whether students are as proficient in their native language, after spending such a significant proportion of time immersed in a second language. As well, there is some question as to whether students can do as well in subjects taught in the immersion language as they would have if the subject was taught in their native language. (1980, 3-6)

Some studies show that students in either early or late immersion do not appear to be at a disadvantage in terms of cognitive development. Also, where achievement in subject areas taught in the immersion language has been tested, early or late immersion students perform as well as their peers in non-immersion programs. (Swain, 1980, 5). Research studies have found, however, that while students perform well verbally in the immersion language, they have much more difficulty with the written form. There is also some question as to whether an understanding of the relevant culture results from immersion language instruction. Whether or not this is, or should be important, depends on the objectives of this instruction.

A major social concern pertains to public perception of fairness. Despite the success of these programs, some see them as unfairly favouring the Francophone segment of Canadian society. (Commissioner of Official Languages, 189-190)

On the other hand, parents insisting on immersion education for their children, are most concerned about the availability of this option. The demand for these programs is evidenced by the lengths to which parents will go to ensure immersion education for their children. These include all-night line ups for enrollment and legal action.

Saskatchewan has been involved in a series of court cases involving the Canadian Parents for French organization. The most recent pitted the association against the school board in Weyburn. While the provincial Education Act does respect parental rights, the court ruled against the proponents of immersion, on the grounds that the suit was initiated by outsiders. (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1985, 195)

While educators and policy makers need to be concerned about assuring equality of opportunity in implementing bilingualism, they also face issues such as funding these programs, policies, teaching methodology and community reaction.

4.3.2 English/French as a Second Language

As long as immigrants continue to come to Canada there will be a need for them to learn one of Canada's official languages as a second language.

At present, there is no overall theory as to how study of the second language should proceed. Sampson claims there is a theoretical discrepancy in this field, based on a confusion between educational ad hocery and scientific theory. (1984, 32)

Theory aside, there is some controversy about the use of appropriate approaches to teaching immigrants a second language, in light of the factors which maximize language learning, including student readiness, learning background, cultural orientation, family support. The main focus of tension is between the assimilationist orientation of learning the second language, and retention of the native culture. Considerations include the degree to which the family wants the student to learn the new language and the attitude of the teacher who believes that the success of the student depends on a reduced allegiance to the native language. (Purvis, 1983, 61-78). Yet another concern is whether these students are given a sufficient introduction to the more general aspects of Canadian culture to ensure their success.

According to Kellway, adequate teacher preparation is also a concern. Presently, the opportunities for teacher preparation are varied and the levels of teacher competence reflect this. While teachers may have the regular provincial certification, they must also gain three additional competencies. First, they need to become familiar with the theories of second language acquisition and master methodology and teaching techniques. They also need to understand the implications of social and cultural differences for learning, and develop the skills to respond to individual needs. Second, teachers need to develop competence in preparing and evaluating instructional units. Third, they need to develop competence in administration and consultation. (1984, 216-228)

4.3.3 Heritage Languages

For many immigrants, maintaining their heritage language is as much a priority as adapting to a new culture. The hundreds of heritage language schools attest to this priority. According to the Commissioner of Official Languages, the number of heritage language schools in Canada, funded in 1985 by the federal government's Cultural Enrichment Program was 1,461 schools with a total of 117,615 students. In fact, their enrollment figures exceed those for language classes offered in high schools in Canada. (1985, 197-199)

Ethnic survival schools offer a mixture of language and cultural instruction, emphasizing values, traditions and history. According to Martel, one of the methods is to show students alternative ways of interpreting experiential data, or ways other than the mainstream Canadian way. (1984, 117-118)

The teaching of Native or Aboriginal languages is also gaining momentum in Canada. Legally, these programs are the responsibility of the federal government, although Yukon and the Northwest Territories have taken over full responsibility in their respective jurisdictions. Some of the difficulties in Native language instruction pertain to the absence of a standardized writing system, and the lack of teachers. In addition, those who know the language often lack the knowledge and skills to teach it.

In spite of these difficulties, Native students in the Eastern Arctic between kindergarten and grade nine are receiving instruction in Inuktitut. In the lower grades it is the language of instruction for all subjects, while students in the upper grades study it as a second language. The goal is to produce fully bilingual (English and Inuktitut) graduates. In the Western Arctic, Native languages are becoming extinct, and in the N.W.T. there is not much interest in learning Native languages. (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1985, 204)

While leaders of ethnocultural groups press for heritage language instruction because they are convinced it will ensure cultural maintenance, Driedger and Comeau, contend that the maintenance of culture is accomplished through a variety of means, of which language teaching is just one. (1982, 600-620)

Cummins states that the home environment, especially the relationship between parent and child, is critical to working out a means to ensure cultural maintenance in Canadian society. In other words a simple correlation between language instruction and cultural maintenance is not valid, even though such a belief is the impetus for heritage language teaching.

Summary

The reasons for interest in language study vary and include the desire for cultural retention, economic mobility, personal enrichment, learning enhancement, cultural mobility, cultural competence, and career choice. The reasons, of course, depend on the individual or ethnocultural group in question. There are three distinct types of language instruction, official languages, English or French as a second language, and heritage languages, and each has its own set of pedagogical challenges. There are also many legal questions pertaining to language instruction.

In terms of multicultural education policies and programs, the challenge is to determine the extent to which language and culture are integrated and to find the appropriate balance between language instruction and cultural competency.

4.4 NATIVE EDUCATION

Native education has been dealt with in this report from several perspectives. It was shown that while the Native peoples are often relegated to a single and a common category, they too exhibit linguistic and cultural diversity and can be identified as Status, non-Status, Indian and Metis, urban and rural, to name a few. It was also demonstrated that the Native peoples view the federal policy as a problem or a threat as it delineates them as just another cultural group, rather than a group with special historic significance and legal rights. The educational needs of Native people were also reviewed (see 2.1). Native education, at least on reservations, is a federal responsibility, and most provinces do not have programs specifically for Native students. However, Manitoba currently has ESL consultants who work with Native groups, and Ontario has provisions for Natives on school boards, curriculum materials for Native students and an official to oversee the province's responsibilities in Native education. Saskatchewan is also very active in Native curriculum development (see 3).

This review now turns to a closer examination of the various dimensions of Native education.

Traditional Patterns

The formalization of schooling has generally been questioned by Native people. According to Medicine, before the European settlement of North America, the Native way of life was transmitted orally, from one generation to the next. The elders played a significant role in this method of socialization. (1987, 142-152). Following European settlement, a transformation occurred, and schooling as an agent of socialization, was harnessed in an effort to bring Native culture into alignment with European notions of civilization and Christianity. These efforts were largely unsuccessful because the institutional configurations of both cultures were in conflict. (Carnew, 1984, 4)

According to Friesen, the formalization of Native education in Canada can be divided into three broad periods. The first is characterized by the efforts of missionaries who were sent out by their respective churches and encouraged by the Hudson Bay Company, to civilize and Christianize the Natives. In the West, this period began in the early 19th century, and featured a combination of day schools and residential schools, the latter which required that Native children board at the schools, away from their parents. (1983, 41-47). The second period was characterized by direct government involvement in Native education, through the take over of missionary schools. This period began in the 1940's in the West, and featured schools operated by government agents. The third period of Native education began about the time of Canada's first centenary in 1967 and culminated in the current demand by Native people to govern their own schools, as part of a greater struggle for self-determination.

Self-Determination

The move to educational self-determination was characterized by Native demands for a greater voice in how their children were educated. This eventually led to decision-making opportunities for Natives on local education committees, and much later, to local control of Native education. Education committees initially had little power and influence, and dealt with matters such as school truancy, school lunches, and facilities. This did not satisfy Native leaders who also wanted a voice in the matter of hiring teachers, choosing school curriculum and determining educational policy. By 1984 there were 187 band-operated schools in Canada, and 450 of the 575 bands in the country were administering all or part of their school programs. (CEA, 1984, 7)

Initial appraisals of local control are positive, indicating a marked increase in academic achievement and in self-esteem, an increase in pride of heritage, a feeling of ownership by parents, and a closer link between community and culture. (CEA, 1984, 81-82). However, there have also been problems, created by a lack of experience and skills, and resulting in operational difficulties in relation to proper handling of funds, equitable hiring practices and balanced budgeting. According to Chief John Snow of the Stoney Indian Reservation in Alberta, the move to local control is both a challenge and a threat. (Snow, 1977, 122-123)

The pursuit of local control of Native schools has been paralleled by the challenges of self-government and local economic development. All three constitute the means by which Native peoples are attempting to revive and maintain their culture. While all three are interrelated, economic constraints, limited employment and economic development opportunities, severely limit the success of these initiatives. (Frideres, 1974, 173)

Saskatchewan provides a model of how Native people can become active in curriculum development at the provincial level. An Indian-Metis Advisory Committee to the Minister of Education meets six times a year to assess the progress of the five-year action plan (see 3.2.3). The plan is designed to help Natives identify with the curriculum through Native content, reduce stereotypes of Native people, offer special programs such as Native Studies and teach Native languages.

Learning Process

Somewhat related to the issues of self determination is the issue of the learning process itself. Unlike the European tradition which understood schooling as a formal process involving trained teachers, Natives understood it as an informal process of transmitting values, involving older people and Elders. In traditional Native society, Elders were active in the teaching-learning process and taught largely by influence and example, even though they did not function in a classroom setting. Students learned by listening and by self-actualizing, and education was holistic. (Tipahaskan, 1986, 104-105)

Another distinction between Native and non-Native education is the matter of learning styles. The non-Native learning style is characterized by oral, aural and visual interpretations of language. By contrast, Native learning is characterized by imitation, and an absence of standarized evaluation. In fact, the question of Native learning styles cannot be addressed by current teaching approaches as the latter merely constitute a variation within a non-Native culturally based teaching mode. (Carnew, 1984)

According to a number of Native leaders, if education is to become relevant to the Native student it must be adapted to his/her style of learning, environment, values and culture. Anything less constitutes a return to previous failures. (Adams, 1975, 152-162; Cardinal, 1969, 51-61; Pelletier, 1973, 39-54)

Biculturalism

Until recently, Natives had two choices: acculturation into a dominant society or cultural maintenance with a retreat to reservation life.

Jenness contends that the former alternative was soon viewed by Native leaders as cultural genocide, while the latter amounted to Apartheid. (1983, 160). Snow argues that recently a third alternative, biculturalism has emerged. This concept implies that the traditional Native way is feasible, while adjusting to a technological world on one's own terms. The objective is to retain the best of Native ways and to grasp the best in the dominant culture. (1977, 123)

The educational means by which biculturalism can become a reality are complex. One problem concerns the development of a curriculum, or learning atmosphere, which effectively fosters biculturalism. To meet this challenge, communication with the Native community will need to be improved, the school curriculum will need to be revised; teachers will need to be retrained, and the dominant society will need to comply with these measures.

There is, however, some question as to whether biculturalism is viable. As some social scientists have found, individuals who find it necessary to function in two significantly different worlds often fall victim to the position of cultural marginality - being a part of two worlds but being truly at home in neither. (Young, 1934, 513-514; Starr, 1977, 949-961; Kerckhoff and McCormick, 1955, 48-55)

On the other hand, Couture argues that Native cultures are a permanent feature of Canadian life because they are resilient, dynamic, adaptive and inherently creative. They are capable of distinctive and sophisticated human development and expression, and can develop structural forms and institutions as needed to ensure and strengthen group/individual survival. (1985, 6). Thus Native education must come to terms with persistent and different educational needs and requirements.

The inherent ability of Native cultures to adapt to new challenges as identified by Couture may help resolve the dilemma of biculturalism.

Multiculturalism

As stated previously, Natives view themselves as distinct from other cultural groups because of their Aboriginal claims. In fact, leaders conceive of their people as "Citizens-Plus." (Citizens Plus, 1970)

According to Berry, the multicultural policy makes no mention of special status related to the claim of Citizens-Plus. Historically and geographically, however, Native people possess the rights of first occupancy; culturally they constitute a group that respects the balance of nature and sees technological advance in a corollary capacity. Economically, Native people occupy the lower levels of earning power, and legally they are still the object of special laws which identify them as a group and set them apart from larger society. (1981, 214-230). These considerations then, strengthen their case for extraordinary consideration in the Canadian context.

Multicultural policies in Canada were originated quite apart from Native concerns, partially because those concerns were always viewed as exclusively within the domain of the Federal Department of Indian Affairs. Multicultural writers have gradually come to include Native themes in their works. The primary motivation for a reconsideration has been the collective voice of Native educators who maintain that the place of their people in Canadian multiculturalism has either been ignored or misrepresented.

Summary

While federal multicultural policies largely ignore the special needs of the Native peoples, it can be argued that historically, geographically, legally, economically and culturally, they have a case for compensatory action, and a recognition of rights and provisions for cultural maintenance which may be stronger than other cultural groups. The type of multicultural policies or programs implemented should take into account the needs of the individual Native or group. As stated earlier in this report, for Native groups seeking self-determination, the greatest needs in education are for control of their educational system, training of Native teachers, and Native language instruction. For Natives confronted with biculturalism, especially in urban centres, the educational needs include culturally-relevant learning materials, trained Native teachers with knowledge of urban life, sensitivity on the part of teachers and other students, and the alleviation of prejudice and racism.

4.5 PEDAGOGICAL CONCERNS

Pedagogical concerns have been referred to in this report from several perspectives. First, the educational needs of ethnocultural communities, Native peoples, Francophones and Anglophones were summarized (see 2.1). The educational implications of cultural pluralism, individualism, social justice and cultural universals were reviewed (see 2.2). For example, it was stated that since cultural pluralism is a fact of life in Canada, multicultural education is one way of preparing students for life. Also, it was stated that multicultural education is consistent with educational trends toward accommodating the individual needs of each child. It was further stated that the school's responsibility for social justice lies in the areas of equality of experience and equality of opportunity, and that the classroom can provide a forum for positive individual and societal change. It was demonstrated that teaching about cultural universals and emphasizing cultural similarities rather than differences provides a way to keep individual and group differences in balance. A number of educational approaches to multiculturalism were reviewed, including those designed to eliminate cultural diversity, equalize opportunities, encourage cultural understanding, encourage cultural diversity, maintain unique and separate identities, and foster biculturalism (see 2.3).

The multicultural educational policies, programs and practices in Canada's provinces and other nations were reviewed and it was shown that the linguistic approach is the most popular, while the broader social goals of multicultural education are paid lip service and little else (see 4).

This review now turns to a closer examination of various pedagogical concerns surrounding multicultural education.

Programs

When multicultural education emerged in North America, it was optimistically regarded as a means to achieve positive social change. (Mead, 1962; Van Til, 1960; Ehlers and Crawford, 1983; Buchagnini, 1980). The first North American multicultural education programs of the 1960's were based on assumptions with a decidedly assimilationist bent, and were, according to Payne (1983), divided into three groups of programs. In the first, ethnic practices were encouraged as a means of helping ethnic groups maintain certain aspects of their culture. These included colourful but superficial activities such as dances, songs, festivals and remembering special days. The second approach was oriented to civil rights and atonement for past injustices to minorites. It focussed only on select groups, to the point of ignoring the importance of the individual and the less vocal minorities. The third, and most popular approach, was designed to equalize opportunities and minimize differences.

Moore states that educational policies and programs were often counter productive, breeding discrimination rather than alleviating it. This is because these policies and programs were, and still are usually originated by the dominant societal group, reflecting a limited sensitivity to the needs of minorities represented in the school. (1984, 35-47). Attempts to rectify these oversights have resulted in a variety of approaches including affirmative action and those elaborated in more detail by Margaret Gibson as education of the culturally different, education about cultural differences, education for cultural pluralism, and bicultural education. (Gibson, 1976, 7-18; Young, 1979, 5-21). Other related attempts to foster equity and cultural sensitivity, according to Henley and Young, include instruction in minority languages, reciprocal bilingualism, quota systems with respect to teacher hiring practices, and specific ethnic studies programs. (1981, 7-16)

Past and current multicultural programs can be categorized according to several objectives of increasing importance. (Friesen, 1985, 32-38). The first is to acknowledge ethnic diversity through celebrations such as ethnic foods, fairs, and celebrations. The second is to stimulate curiosity about ethnic groups by focussing on cultural differences and eccentricity. The third is to acknowledge ethnic contributions by focussing on individuals of particular ethnic backgrounds. The fourth is to examine different lifestyles through a case study approach. The fifth is to raise awareness or consciousness about cultures through objective and sensitive research. The sixth is to improve intercultural communication through intergroup contact and establishing rapport. The seventh is to foster acceptance, appreciation and understanding through activities which build self-esteem. There is also a growing awareness that reducing prejudice, discrimination and racism may have to be approached more directly.

Teachers

Since the true test of an effective multicultural program is the effectiveness with which it is implemented, Narang suggests that teachers develop a number of competencies. These can be grouped into four categories. First, in the area of special knowledge, teachers should know about various aspects of the Canadian cultural mosaic, understand the similarities and differences between and within ethnocultural groups, and be aware of the contribution of minority groups. Second, teachers should have special competence in the area of curriculum development and evaluation. Third, in the area of interpersonal skills, teachers should be culturally sensitive, aware of the causes of racial prejudice and methods of dealing with them, and competent in effective intercultural and cross-cultural communication techniques. Finally, they should have a good repetoire of teaching strategies to accommodate different cultural learning styles. (1983)

According to Nixon, teacher training has been another focus of concern. Programs of this kind have mushroomed over the past decade, refined both in philosophy and technique. (1985, 152-169). Friesen notes that every university in western Canada has now developed at least elements of a teacher training program in multicultural education; some institutions also offer degree majors and/or graduate programs in a related area. (1985, 43-44). These programs emphasize appropriate curriculum content and field experience, input from ethnocultural communities involved, and sensitivity to functioning in ethnocultural environments. Wagner has elaborated a series of cautionary guidelines for teachers who plan to work in multicultural settings: 1) Become knowledgeable about the culturally different student; 2) Avoid stereotyping or being biased, become accepting; 3) Accept each student as an individual; 4) Help the student become secure as part of the group while retaining his/her cultural identity; and 5) Be yourself, the student can detect a phony. (1981, 353-358)

Related to teaching is the matter of accommodating different learning styles. According to Burger, the degree to which they are influenced by culture has emerged recently. Earlier calls for increased sensitivity to cultural differences tended to place emphasis on a variety of factors and there were simply too many to address at once. (1968). To isolate learning styles as a significant factor has taken some time, and much remains to be done in this regard. However, in the area of Native education, the literature in this area has increased substantially. (Dunn and Dunn, 1978; Scribner and Cole, 1972; Carnew, 1984)

Curriculum

According to Gibson, one of the first areas addressed in multicultural education was curriculum. Textbooks which depicted ethnic groups, especially Native in an unfavourable way, became a prime target for reform. (1968, 284-287). Curriculum content is still a concern.

While the ideal form of curriculum may be complete freedom from bias, this may be difficult to achieve. Replacing of one bias with another, albeit with that of a minority group, is not necessarily success. A number of individuals and organizations have proposed criteria by which to develop curriculum as well as to evaluate existing materials as a means of producing as value-free a curriculum as possible. The Ontario Ministry of Education took on this task as one of their first in promoting multicultural education, (McLeod, 1984, 30-49), and a variety of similar criteria are available from other sources. (Robinson, 1984, 313-323)

The literature on classroom techniques is abundant (Bennett, 1986; Tiedt and Tiedt, 1986; McCreath, 1981; Multicultural Education Council, 1986). In fact there are a number of books merely listing the sources purporting to give this kind of knowledge. Tiedt and Tiedt provide an excellent resource book on activities, information and resources designed to help students develop self-esteem and be accepting and tolerant of differences.

In a more subtle vein, critics have also identified the "hidden curriculum," which reflects the regulations of conventional practices or values of the dominant society. This curriculum is implicit rather than explicit, covert rather than obvious. (Illich, 1971, 103-126; Kehoe, 1984, 27). Problems arise when there are inconsistencies between the implicit and explicit curriculum, or when it is used for assimilative purposes without specifying such an approach.

Another concern involves how multiculturalism should be handled in the curriculum. Roe suggests that, from a practical perspective, multicultural education should be incorporated into the total school program. He says that too much emphasis on multiculturalism, to the exclusion of core subjects, results in culturally different students not being able to integrate into the mainstream of Canadian life once they leave school. He maintains that the standards of education for these students should not be allowed to suffer in the interests of multiculturalism. (CEA, 1982, 16). Stephan concurs, and questions whether multicultural education can be accepted as a core subject into an already crowded curriculum. (1981)

Attitude Change

Multicultural educators have recently turned their attention to concerns about alleviating prejudice, stereotyping, racism and discrimination. (Freedman, et. al., 1983, 134-138; Kehoe, 1981, 3-9). For example in Alberta, the Ghitter Commission delivered a five volume report on Tolerance and Understanding, indicative of a generalized concern across Canada.

Practical programs designed to change attitudes are premised on the knowledge that racial attitudes develop at an early age. (Garcia, 1983, 104-109; O'Reilly and Borman, 1983, 110-116). However, since the causes for racism are varied and include things such as ignorance, unpleasant experiences, beliefs about ethnic purity, or a disturbed personality, counteracting the causes is complex.

Changing attitudes is also one of the more controversial elements of multicultural education because it reaches into the sensitive area of values, and because it is difficult to accomplish. As Kehoe points out, simply providing more information about an ethnic group lessens prejudice only slightly and courses studying the nature of prejudice are ineffective and sometimes even counter-productive. He recommends six guidelines, based on research available in Canada and the United States, for presenting multicultural information. He suggests emphasizing positive achievements rather than hardship and persecution; emphasizing cultural similarities rather than exotic and bizarre differences; presenting information from an insider's point of view; de-emphasizing the material poverty of a region; and allowing students to examine the harm which ethnocentrism and stereotyping has on its victims. However, Kehoe maintains that "knowledge and positive attitudes increase the likelihood, but do not guarantee, that a student's behaviour will be consistent with his attitudes." (1980, 79)

Ahmed Ijaz has found that multicultural programs which are successful have four common characteristics. The programs are based on student participation and emphasize cultural similarities rather than differences. They also emphasize that the notion of "different" is not synonymous with "bad." Ijaz also found that it is important for students to assume the roles of people in other cultures rather than learning about them through lectures. (1982, 19, 21)

Many writers agree that to be most effective, school programs must be dynamic and interactive. Active student participation, including group discussion, role playing and field trips, is consistently emphasized by many researchers. Interaction with different cultures is also important, but the nature of the contact is critical to its success. Interacting individuals should be of equal status, the activity should be supported by persons or institutions in authority and the contact should occur on a personal basis over a fair length of time. In addition, contacts should be frequent and intimate, and occur with members of different ethnic groups in as many social settings as possible. Contact with a resource person of high status in a minority group tends to reduce prejudice most dramatically and easily. The logical starting point for these suggestions is to involve the ethnic community in the program. The school should approach communication with this community sensitively and sensibly and carry on a dialogue in an informative way and on a regular basis. (Roe, 1982, 43)

Summary

Multicultural education presents a challenge to policy makers and to educators who are interested in this rapidly growing field. However, before proceeding, there must be an awareness of the theoretical bases, the types of multicultural programs, or approaches and their explicit and implicit purposes. There should also be an awareness of value, knowledge, skill and thinking implications of each approach. An awareness of teacher competencies and cultural learning styles is also important since teachers remain the key to a successful multicultural progam. They should also be aware of the research findings which indicate the kinds of activities, teaching strategies and emphases important to implementing a successful multicultural program. In the area of curriculum development and evaluation, care must be taken to ensure that materials are bias-free and free of a hidden agenda. Perhaps the most challenging area is that of changing attitudes. It has been found that active student participation following specific guidelines, is the most effective method of changing students' attitudes. This entails combining subject matter, student participation and ethnic community involvement.

4.6 DISCIPLINARY CONCERNS

Concerns about the discipline of multiculturalism have surfaced indirectly throughout this report. In terms of the federal policy, it was shown that the objectives of the policy have been only partially implemented by the provinces. Another complicating factor was shown to be the negative response of Francophones and Natives to the whole concept of Canadian multiculturalism. Further, it was noted that multiculturalism borrows from a variety of established disciplines and as a discipline is not clearly defined. Another major concern relates to the purposes of various multicultural educational approaches, some of which contradict the basic premises of multiculturalism. Finally, it was shown that most provinces have been unable to develop a comprehensive multicultural policy with attendent programs, which take into account the full spectrum of multicultural concerns.

This review now turns to a closer examination of the various disciplinary concerns.

Judging by the rapid increase in literature, multicultural education is a growing and evolving concern. The publication of books of readings and conference proceedings has been parallelled by the production of entire books dealing with particular aspects of the field, and the proliferation of academic organizations which publish newsletters and journals in multiculturalism, e.g., Canadian Ethnic Studies, Ethnic and Racial Studies, Multicultural Education Journal, Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, Melus, and Multiculturalism.

Some writers have questioned the policy, research and practice. Jean Burnet is concerned that much of what passes for multicultural theory and research is essentially mythology. (1979, 48). Porter argues that the originators of the federal multicultural policy designed a paradigm to keep minorities in their place. (1965). Isajiw, questions the interpretation and application of the policy, suggesting that it is discriminatory because certain groups are being left out of the government's scope of concern. (1975). Anderson and Frideres maintain that the policy was framed by ethnic group members of European origins and obviously designed to meet their needs. As such it does not truly reflect the nature of Canada's pluralistic makeup, and often fails to be flexible enough to keep pace with the changing immigration patterns of Canadian life. (1981). These concerns are echoed by Lupul who points out that multiculturalism is low on the list of government priorities and that the department charged with responsibility for multiculturalism is junior in many ways and barely visible within the government bureaucracy. (1982, 95). Gywn describes multiculturalism as both a threat and a promise, suggesting that practice needs to catch up to theory and that input from many of Canada's ethnocultural communities is lacking. (Gywn, 1974, 15). Finally, Zolf has suggested that multiculturalism is actually a waste of government funds because it cannot pay for itself. (1980, 6)

Multiculturalism as a discipline also has problems in terms of finding a solid and coherent theoretical base. In many ways it is much like the other social sciences from which it borrows its insights and terminology. The topics addressed by writers in multiculturalism are also diverse and include immigration policy, ethnic pluralism and cultural diversity, case studies of ethnocultural communities, language and culture, race, prejudice and discrimination, politics and culture and intergroup relations. Much of the implicit theory is based on sociological insights and is drawn from the field of ethnic studies. (Timasheff, 1967; Blalock, 1976; Merton, 1949; Anderson and Frideres, 1981)

Palmer notes that multicultural writers in the past have tended to pay attention to the "controversial" areas of the field, but that these efforts have been supplemented by works produced by authors with strong ethnic sympathies. He observes that some of the immigrant memoirs published in recent years stand at the intersection of ethnic and working class history, and in the future, historians should pay special attention to the ethnic element in Canadian history. (1982, 97-107). Anderson concurs and observes that most ethnic studies represent a wide array of academic disciplines, particularly history and sociology, but the resulting literature is divided into diverse and conflicting schools of thought and methodology. (1982, 5)

There are a number of reasons why academicians are opposed to developing multiculturalism further in Canada. Some believe that encouraging people to maintain strong ethnic ties fosters national disunity. Wood, however, believes that maintaining these ties is generally positive but that extreme forms of isolation should be avoided. (1980, 12). Multicultural critics also suggest that groups occupying lower socio-economic strata in Canada may remain there if multiculturalism is emphasized. (Porter, 1972, 196-197). In addition, some argue that maintaining cultural differences fosters discrimination, and contributes, perhaps indirectly, to personal identity crises. (Taylor, 1979; Strasiulis, 1980)

On the other hand, others contend that the low socio-economic status of some immigrant groups will persist unless those policies are revised. They argue that policies currently favour the majority, and only a continued emphasis on multiculturalism will change this imbalance. While multiculturalism stresses variety, it must also cater to individual and group needs. Moreover, it must also be endorsed in official ways, and not left merely to the arena of good will. To be comprehensive and useful, its policies must be based on law and operationalized in practice. (Anderson and Frideries, 1981, 319-328; Lupul, 1982, 93-102)

Summary

Developing a discipline like multiculturalism is a very different challenge than developing a method of inquiry because it consists of three quite distinct components. First is the matter of theoretical formulation and construction. Second, is the necessity and urgency of implementation. A multicultural theory that does nothing is of relatively little use in a society laden with problems of racism, prejudice, and discrimination. Third, is the matter of determining policy because, unlike most of the other social sciences, (social work probably excepted), the inherent nature of multiculturalism implies application as it is a response to the practical problems of inequality.

In addition there are challenges with regard to practical application. It is difficult to meet the needs and expectations of at least three very basically different groups - Charter groups of French and English, Aboriginal peoples and immigrants because they often make competing and conflicting demands. This makes uniformity virtually impossible.

According to Ujimoto, a successful multicultural package of theory and practice will only be possible when it is realized that there are many different ways of perceiving a problem, issue or situation, and unless these differences are recognized initially and sensitively programmed into the ongoing process, intended policies and solutions may result in deleterious social consequences. (1982, 111)

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5. CONCLUSION

5.1 SUMMARY

The following summary is a synthesis of the report and combines four aspects of the report: (1) the key points from each section; (2) the most widely held perspectives in the literature reviewed; (3) implications for the school and; (4) recommendations for acting on the above.

5.1.1 Theory

- Multiculturalism may be defined as: the experience or reality of living in a society with cultural diversity; a policy adopted by governments; and a social goal which promotes equality of status, tolerance and undertanding and acceptance of differences, cultural retention and maintenance, individual freedom within a democracy and respect for human rights and civil liberties (see 1.4.1).
- Multiculturalism in Canada is based on the assumptions that: Canada is characterized by cultural pluralism; the individual should have the freedom to pursue self-fulfilment; all people have equal rights; and all cultures have basic structures and functions (see 2.2).
- Multicultural education is interdisciplinary and constitutes an attempt to prepare students for life in a multicultural society founded on democratic and humanistic principles (see 1.4.2).
- There is little agreement among writers about the objectives, assumptions, target audiences, curricular and pedagogical considerations of multicultural educational approaches (see 2.3).
- Purposes of multicultural education appear contradictory and can include cultural assimilation; equalization of educational opportunities; cultural understanding, cultural accommodation, cultural segregation, and biculturalism (see 2.3).

5.1.2 Policy

- Official multicultural policies in Canada and its provinces, the U.S.A., Australia, and

Britain purport to address the reality of cultural diversity and promote the social goals of multiculturalism (see 3).

- While the Canadian federal policy on multiculturalism exists within an official bilingual framework, it is nevertheless a policy for all Canadians, designed to promote cultural freedom and maintenance of all cultural groups (see 2.1).

- Initial responses to this policy were varied. The immigrant ethnocultural groups responded most favourably; the Native peoples saw it as a threat to special status; the Francophones in Quebec refused to give it legitimacy; and Anglophones viewed it as largely irrelevant (see 2.1).

- A comprehensive multicultural education policy does not exist in any Canadian province, but Manitoba's Multicultural Education Policy Discussion Paper (1986) comes close to embracing the broad goals of multicultural education (see 3.2).

5.1.3 Programs

- Provincial multicultural education programs do not reflect the broad objectives contained in multicultural policies. Most programs have a strong linguistic component and some focus on human rights (see 3.2).

5.1.4 Issues

- Cultural Pluralism

  As an agent of socialization, the school should prepare students to live in a society characterized by cultural pluralism. While multicultural education can help students develop as individuals and relate positively to different cultural groups, there should be an awareness of potential negative reactions (see 4.1).

- Human Rights

  As an agent for encouraging social justice, the school has a responsibility to promote and operationalize the philosophy of human rights and ensure social justice by providing equality of opportunity and equality of experience to all students (see 4.2).

- Language Instruction

  As a respondent to popular demand and social need, the school has instituted three types of language instruction: official languages, English or French as second languages and heritage languages. However, the school should also determine whether cultural competency and maintenance can be derived from language instruction alone (see 4.3).

- Native Education

  As an institution responsible for ensuring the equalization of educational opportunity, the school should respond to the special needs of Native students. These needs include Native language instruction, culturally relevant learning materials and teaching styles, sensitivity from teachers and students and the alleviation of racism and prejudice. The larger question of culturally based learning styles which cannot be addressed by current teaching approaches must also be considered (see 4.4).

- Pedagogical Concerns

  As the institution responsible for ensuring consistency between educational theory, policies, goals, implementation and evaluation, the school should develop broadly based multicultural education programs, provide for the availability of culturally competent teachers and develop culturally relevant teaching styles and bias-free curriculum materials. The greatest challenge pertains to changing students' attitudes and this is best achieved through active student participation (see 4.5).

- Disciplinary Concerns

  As provincial departments of education and school systems translate the theories and policies of multiculturalism into multicultural education, they should be challenged in developing effective educational policies and programs. This is particularly important because multiculturalism is a vital but developing field (see 4.6).

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